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ABSTRACT

The Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary convened to discuss the federal role in combating juvenile participation in gangs. A proposed amendment to the crime bill being developed, described at the hearing by Senator Orrin G. Hatch (Utah), makes it a federal offense to engage in gang-related crime and subjects gang members to tough mandatory minimum penalties, while providing funding for additional federal prosecutors to make implementation of the measure a reality. Senator Christopher J. Dodd (Connecticut) spoke in support of the "ounce of prevention" amendment to the crime bill he and other senators have sponsored that would make resources available to community agencies that are already working with young people to reduce gang problems. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (Colorado) expressed some personal insights on gang issues and suggested tax benefits for corporations involved in juvenile rehabilitation efforts. A panel of law enforcement officials and an educational administrator spoke about the roles of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the local police, and school systems in combating gang violence. A second panel of youth agency leaders, a police administrator, and a college professor reviewed the gang situation and provided examples of successful initiatives. (SLD)

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S. HRG. 103-1004

THE GANG PROBLEM IN AMERICA: FORMULATING AN EFFECTIVE FEDERAL RESPONSE

ED 387 572

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUVENILE JUSTICE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

TO

EXAMINE HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS TO DETER YOUTH VIOLENCE IN AMERICA

FEBRUARY 9, 1994

Serial No. J-103-40

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CONTENTS

STATEMENTS OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

	Page
Kohl, Hon. Herbert, a U.S. Senator from the State of Wisconsin	1
Hatch, Hon. Orrin G., a U.S. Senator from the State of Utah	3
Dodd, Hon. Christopher J., a U.S. Senator from the State of Connecticut	6

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WITNESSES

Hon. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a U.S. Senator from the State of Colorado	9
Panel consisting of James C. Frier, Deputy Assistant Director, FBI, Washington, DC; Sergeant Michael Nichols, St. Louis Police Department, St. Louis, MO; and Sam Ferraniola, executive director, Glen Mills Schools, Concordville, PA	14
Panel consisting of Jim Brown, president, Amer-I-Can Program, Inc., Los Angeles, CA, accompanied by Colonel Dean L. Renfrow, support services bureau commander, Oregon State Police; Gary Graika, Milwaukee Youth Diversion Program, Milwaukee, WI; Jim Galipeau, deputy probation officer, Los Angeles County, CA; and Professor Irving Spergel, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL	39

ALPHABETICAL LIST AND MATERIAL SUBMITTED

Brown, Jim:	
Testimony	39
Prepared statement	40
Campbell, Ben Nighthorse:	
Testimony	9
Prepared statement	13
Ferraniola, Sam:	
Testimony	27
Prepared statement	29
Frier, James C.:	
Testimony	14
Prepared statement	16
Galipeau, Jim:	
Testimony	60
Prepared statement	62
Los Angeles County Probation Department Gang Violence Reduction Proposal Budget 1993/93	67
Graika, Gary:	
Testimony	55
Prepared statement	56
Nichols, Michael:	
Testimony	18
Prepared statement	20
Renfrow, Dean L.:	
Testimony	44
Prepared statement	45
Oregon State Police Gang Program	51
Marion County Gang Membership	53
Documented Oregon State Gangs for "93"	51
Spergel, Irving:	
Testimony	68
Prepared statement	70
Bibliography	74

APPENDIX

Additional Submissions for the Record

Page

Prepared statement of Mark N. Dion, Tactical Enforcement Unit, Portland Police Department 85
Statement of the Children's Rights Council 87

THE GANG PROBLEM IN AMERICA: FORMULATING AN EFFECTIVE FEDERAL RESPONSE

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1994

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUVENILE JUSTICE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a.m., in room 226, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Herb Kohl presiding.

Also present: Senator Cohen.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT KOHL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

Senator KOHL. Good morning. This hearing will come to order.

The American people are by now familiar with the figures reflecting an enormous rise in juvenile crime and violence throughout our country. Too many of our young people are killing and being killed and breeding fear among all the honest people who try to walk our streets. Throughout the United States, gangs have much to do with all of this.

As you can observe from the chart, 30 years ago, only 23 American cities reported gang activity. Today, more than 700 cities report gang activity across the country; in big cities, small cities, and in rural areas. This chart, for example, chart number 2, indicates that more than 340 cities with populations of 10,000 to 50,000 now report considerable gang activity. Studies confirm that more than 400,000 young people across our country belong to gangs and that gangs are responsible for more than 2,000 murders nationwide every year.

The fact is that gangs have made a bad juvenile crime problem even worse. They empower, in exactly the wrong way, hard-core juvenile offenders, by giving them legions of supporters. They act as insidious, anti-social magnets, pulling our young people into a life of delinquency, and they teach a perverse lesson, that the path to respect lies in embracing crime and violence.

A generation ago, gangs rumbled with their fists, and today they deal crack and carry guns. We are told by police that gang members are recruiting young people to leave their real families and live with gang families in gang houses.

Not too long ago, the Federal Government believed that street crime was not its business, but today, we recognize that violent

gang crime is a national problem and one that we must do our share to address.

There are clearly two sides to this problem. the first is law enforcement and corrections. Gang members have no respect for the police or the law, largely because of the revolving door of our juvenile justice system. This must change. Protecting the peace and tranquility of our streets and communities is government's first responsibility at all levels. Enforcing the peace means communicating to gang members that their punishment will be firm and certain if they break the law and traffic in terror.

Even more, we must couple firm, certain punishment with corrections programs that promote responsibility and life skills, so that juvenile offenders are given a real chance to avoid returning to a life of gangs and crime.

Second, we need to contest gangs for the hearts and minds of our young people. We need to give them something constructive to say yes to.

Today's hearing is convened to discuss how to ensure that our scarce resources are put to effective use. Of course, we cannot eliminate gang violence overnight, or anytime soon, for that matter, but neither should we lose hope. Gang-related murders were down 17 percent in Los Angeles last year, and perhaps we will be able to report similar figures in other cities soon, if we all do our part.

Indeed, if we work together with State and local law enforcement, the corrections institutions, and dedicated youth agencies, we can be more confident that our tomorrows will be less violent and fearful than today, and that years from now, many young adults will thank us for investing in their future, for guiding them with a firm but caring hand, and for showing them a better way.

Senator Cohen?

Senator COHEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have a prepared statement I would like to submit for the record. I will try to be brief since two of our distinguished colleagues are here, two more may be joining us, and at least two panels of witnesses are waiting to speak.

As you pointed out, the nation is caught in the grip of fear. Violent acts today are so commonplace that one of our colleagues, Senator Moynihan, has written about "defining deviancy down." As he has pointed out, we have become accustomed to a level of crime that just a few short decades ago would have shocked us.

Gangs are spreading from California to the State of Washington, from Florida all the way to Maine. There is a perception that Maine is a State of pastoral calm and tranquility where no gangs exist. That is contrary to the facts.

We had a lieutenant, Mark Dion, who was scheduled to testify this morning, but unfortunately the weather has precluded him from coming. It is the weather in Washington, not the weather in Maine, that is preventing him from coming.

[Laughter].

He would have pointed out that we have problems in Maine, particularly, in Portland, with the rise of skinheads or neo-Nazis, who beat up and take advantage of minorities.

All of us can point to the root causes of crime and why young people join gangs—the disintegration of the family, the reduced in-

fluence or perhaps even the nonexistence of the church, poverty, a lack of opportunity, alcohol and drugs, the need for protection and respect, and a deep-seated racism that continues to exist in this country. All of that is involved.

The real questions are what can be done about it and what is the Federal role in combating juvenile participation in gangs? Should we, for example, give up on the hard-core members and concentrate on those who are on the fringe? What programs are the most effective, prevention, intervention, counseling, education and job training, community-based programs? By working and negotiating with gangs, are we, either institutionalizing them or legitimizing them? Can get to the members and hopefully steer them in a more socially productive way?

These are the kinds of questions we hope to ask our two panels, and with that, Mr. Chairman, I would ask that my statement be included in the record. I welcome our colleagues here today to testify.

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Senator Cohen. Your statement will be included in the record.

[The prepared statement of Senator Cohen was not available at press time.]

As you point out, we have three of our colleagues with us today, Senator Hatch of Utah, Senator Dodd of Connecticut, and Senator Campbell of Colorado. All have taken a special interest in crime and in the problems that afflict our young people.

Senator Hatch played a critical role in putting together the comprehensive bipartisan crime bill that passed the Senate just a month or two ago.

Senator Dodd has provided important leadership in the Senate on gang issues, as chair of the Subcommittee on Children, Families, Drugs, and Alcoholism.

And finally, Senator Campbell has taken a special interest in gang problems in Colorado, working closely with youth agencies and gang intervention programs in Denver and elsewhere.

Gentlemen, we welcome you here this morning and we look forward to hearing your testimony.

Senator Hatch?

STATEMENT OF HON. ORRIN G. HATCH, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF UTAH

Senator HATCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Senator Cohen. We appreciate your leadership in this area and appreciate all that you do on this committee in the best interests of families and youth.

I am honored to be here with my colleagues, both of whom are leaders in this area, and I appreciate their testimony in advance.

I want to commend the Juvenile Justice Subcommittee for its examination of the growing problem of gang violence in America. One of my purposes here today is to make clear that the gang problem has long since spread beyond our largest populated centers. Once thought to be a problem only of our nation's very largest urban areas, gangs have invaded smaller cities.

Salt Lake City, UT, for instance, is besot with them. According to the Salt Lake Area Gang Project, and they do progress reports—

and this is the multi-jurisdictional gang suppression and diversion unit task force created to fight gang crime in the Salt Lake City area—there are at least 241 identified gangs in our region with over 1,900 members.

In 1992, there were 1,741 gang-related offenses in the Salt Lake City region. In 1993, that figure jumped to 5,478 crimes. As you can see, the number of gangs in 1992 were 185, and in 1993, 241. The number of gang members jumped from 1,438 in 1992 to 1,978.

Again, the number of gang-related crimes jumped in just 1 year from 1,741 to 5,478. This is important because 5,478 crimes in 1 year, including several murders, kidnappings, major drug felonies, 125 drive-by shootings and more than 200 weapons offenses, like Senator Cohen said, this is hitting all of our areas. This is in Salt Lake City. This is not in one of the larger crime-fraught urban areas.

What is especially disheartening is that juveniles account for 35 percent of gang membership. A recent case epitomizes the tragedy and menace of violent juveniles.

Last Thursday, 38-year-old Roland Zahorka stopped by a Salt Lake City gas station to use a pay phone. When he approached the phone, two suspected gang members ordered him not to use the phone. When he ignored their instruction, one of the gang members, a reported 16-year-old, shot Mr. Zahorka in the chest at point-blank range and killed him. The suspect reportedly has a long gang-related record, including a conviction for a drive-by shooting last fall.

All Utahans share the same sense of anger and outrage that senseless acts like the murder of Roland Zahorka generate. We also share a strong resolve to address the problem of juvenile gang violence. We need to steer young people away from gang involvement, and I have fought for the passage of programs, as have others, that I believe will make a difference.

In fact, the Senate crime bill contains several programs that target at-risk youth, including $400 million for youth services and supervision grants, $100 million for youth olympic centers, $100 million for juvenile drug trafficking and gang prevention grants, another $50 million in youth development centers, and $70 million for gang resistance education and training projects.

Despite these important intervention and prevention programs, we must also recognize that there are some juveniles who refuse to learn any other way but through tough punishments. There is an epidemic of serious juvenile violence which has its grip on our nation's cities. Good will and prevention programs alone will do little to thwart its spread.

That is why Senator Dole, Senator Brown, and I offered our gang amendment to the crime bill. While it ensures continued funding for anti-gang intervention projects, like the Salt Lake Area Gang Project, and beefs up prevention efforts, it also includes a provision providing for the powerful arm of the Federal Government to be made available to State and local law enforcement agencies to help combat gang violence.

Our amendment makes it a Federal offense to engage in gang-related crime and subjects gang members to tough mandatory minimum penalties. Our amendment also provides $100 million for ad-

ditional Federal prosecutors who will be assigned to prosecute gang violence. These additional prosecutors will make implementation of this gang measure a reality.

Mr. Chairman, I am concerned that this aspect of the crime bill may be gutted by the other body or when we go to conference. Those who oppose the Senate anti-gang provision argues that this amendment unnecessarily federalizes matters that are better left to the States. Yet, I can think of no area where there is a greater Federal interest than in assisting the States in the prosecution and incarceration of violent offenders, and especially those who lead young people into this type of activity.

This is especially true given much of the gangs and firearms use by gangs in States like Utah, because a lot of those cross State lines. As well, gangs not only traffic in interstate contraband, their networks are interstate as well.

For example, in Midvale, a small city on the outskirts of Salt Lake City, law enforcement officials recently conducted a sting that uncovered an interstate gang network trafficking in stolen cars. The cars were being broken down in several States, including Utah, and the parts were shipped through Texas to Mexico. Clearly, gangs and their contraband that they traffic in are not limited by State boundaries.

I wanted to take this opportunity to stress that while we need a balanced approach involving both prevention of gang violence and law enforcement and punishment, the Federal Government does have an important role to play in both elements of this approach.

I would like to just show you the second chart. The first chart shows how gang and gang-related crimes have grown in just 1 year. The second chart shows Utah gang members by age as of the year end of 1993. As you can see, that is dramatic as well. You will notice it starts as low as 10 years and goes up as high as 35 years, and perhaps even more than that in some isolated cases. But as a general rule, this is a good illustration of the age of gang members who are involved in gang activity in Utah.

I want to thank you for this opportunity to testify. I appreciate your holding these hearings and I hope that we can get a lot of backing for what we have done in the Senate crime bill.

Senator KOHL. We thank you very much, Senator Hatch.

Senator HATCH. If you will forgive me, I am due in Finance and also in Labor, so if you will excuse me, I think I had better run.

Senator KOHL. Thank you again for coming.

Senator HATCH. Thank you very much.

Senator COHEN. I had some very tough questions to ask you, Senator Hatch.

Senator HATCH. I would be happy to stay.

Senator COHEN. We noticed he was running off.

Senator HATCH. I figured that Senator Cohen was going to ask me a tough question, so I had better get going now.

[Laughter.]

Senator KOHL. I would like to call now on Senator Chris Dodd from Connecticut.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I, appreciate immensely the opportunity you are providing us here to share some thoughts with you about what we are trying to do in some of our other committees. Hopefully, we will compliment what you are doing here in this subcommittee.

It is a unique pleasure to appear before you. My father chaired this subcommittee when he was a member of this body and held some interesting hearings 35 years ago on gangs and violence in television and so forth. It seems as though as time goes by, the problems don't seem to change that much. So it is a special personal honor, as well, to be before you and Senator Cohen.

Mr. Chairman, even if we wanted to forget the problem of killing and being killed and the question of youth violence, the morning newspapers wouldn't allow us to do so. As I was preparing this testimony for this hearing, I received word that Danielle Monique Taft, a 7-month-old baby girl in New Haven, CT, died in her mother's arms after a gunman fired at least 14 times into her apartment just several days ago.

This happened, I would point out, the day after she had said her first words to her mother. Danielle's grandmother was also shot in that attack and may be paralyzed for life. There is significant evidence and speculation on the part of the New Haven Police Department that this was a gang-related killing.

This is only the latest, and possibly most heart-wrenching, example of the scourge of youth violence that has afflicted nearly every corner of our nation. Senator Cohen has said it well. There is no area of our nation that is immune from this any longer. As you all know, much of this violence is the result of gangs. There is no way you can avoid that conclusion.

Just as the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial commemorates the victims of a previous youthful generation's war, we could easily construct a similar memorial filled with the names of victims of this young generation's Vietnam—youth violence. The roster on such a memorial would be tragically long, Mr. Chairman, and workmen would have to be constantly on hand to chisel in a new name every 2 hours—every 2 hours. Just last week, they would have added Danielle Taft's name to that wall.

Last fall, Mr. Chairman, they would have added the name of a 17-year-old, Miguel DeJesus, who was gunned down on the steps of New Britain High School, in New Britain CT, at 7 a.m. in the presence of the entire student body.

Last summer, they would have had to chisel the name of Launice Smith, a 4-year-old shot to death as she watched a pick-up football game at a school playground just several blocks from where we are meeting in the U.S. Senate this morning.

These are not isolated examples. They are emblematic of a widespread and terrible trend. I strongly believe that crime by and against the young is the linchpin to the entire crime problem in this country. Statistics show that the adult homicide rate has actually slowed in recent years, but that decline has been entirely offset by a dramatic upswing in youth homicides.

In fact, just over the last 3 years, the 15- to 24-year-old age group has attained a dubious distinction. It has the highest homicide victim rate in the nation. Murder is now the leading cause of death for both white and African American teenage boys.

Younger children are not immune from this plague. Homicide is the third leading cause of death for elementary and middle school children ages 5 to 14. In the words of Marian Wright Edelman, the crisis of children having children has been eclipsed by the greater crisis of children killing children.

When confronted with this crisis, there is a natural tendency to get tough, and I believe there is an appropriate place for that. We should put more police officers on the streets to catch criminals, according to this logic, and we should build more prisons to keep them locked up. This is the philosophy that underpins much of the Senate crime bill.

I would point out as an aside, just to emphasize that point, Mr. Chairman and Senator Cohen, that the police in New Haven took about 20 members of a youth gang called Jungle Boys off the street and denied them parole. The violent crime in New Haven as a result of isolating 20 individuals in that city declined a 50 percent.

I think we need to ask any principal in this country, if you could remove ten of these children from the school, what would it do to the climate? Most of them would tell you it would dramatically change the situation.

I don't like saying that. I am not even suggesting that necessarily as an alternative, but we have to start thinking in those terms, that there are a handful of people who are really creating most of the problem. In fact, the FBI will tell you that 10 percent of the violent criminals perpetrate 90 percent of the violent crime in this country. So we come to the conclusion that in some cases, we just have to remove some of these people as a way of dealing with the problem.

But that is not the only answer, in my view, and Senator Cohen properly asked, what can we do? What constructive things can we do?

I see the arrest and incarceration side as an important element but it certainly is an incomplete answer. If punishment alone could solve the problem, it would have disappeared, in my view, a long time ago. We have the highest incarceration rate in the industrialized world, but our violent crime rate remains also one of the highest.

That is why I authored the ounce of prevention amendment to the Senate crime bill. I was joined in this effort by a number of our colleagues including Senators Domenici, Bradley, Danforth, and Senator Bob Kerrey. This program, Mr. Chairman, would provide support for those out on the front lines in our battle to rescue young people from crime and to give them an alternative to gangs before they get involved in the process.

The ounce of prevention program would not tell communities how to help their young people. They already know how to do it. Ounce of prevention would not hand down edicts from on high. In our view, that would be counterproductive. The ounce of prevention program would not impose a Washington-style solution on Milwaukee, WI, or Bridgeport, CT. That would not work, either.

Instead, the ounce of prevention idea would make resources available to people who already know what to do with them. I am talking about boys' and girls' clubs, YMCA's, schools, and parent groups. These organizations have already succeeded in providing positive alternatives to thousands of young people so they never become susceptible to the false allure of gangs in the streets. With the kind of help that would come with the ounce of prevention, they would be able to help thousands more.

It costs roughly $500 a year for a good after-school program per child, $500 a year. It costs $25,000 to $30,000 in my State to keep a person locked up each year. It seems to me the modest investment in trying to come up with some alternative idea for these young people is well worth making.

The ounce of prevention was taking one ounce of the crime bill for prevention. That is where the notion came from.

The ounce of prevention program would dedicate $75 million to after-school and summer youth programs conducted in safe and secure settings by positive adult role models. The legislation also calls for the creation of an "Ounce of Prevention Council" to bring together a number of Cabinet members.

Very basically, the idea here is that these non-governmental, community-based organizations would be able to apply directly at a one-stop place in Washington, a council made up of representatives from all of the appropriate agencies, so they wouldn't have to go through seven grant applications to try and get some assistance. They don't have to have the resources to go back through the State or even the local governmental bodies if they prove their bona fides. So you get the maximum effect of that dollar coming back to the community groups.

We met with community groups from Oakland and Chicago and Detroit and Boston and New York. They have some very successful and creative ideas. They lack resources, and it is frustrating for them to have to go through the bureaucratic process of getting some of these resources that I think all of us would like to see channel their ways back to these groups.

So that is the idea and the concept behind this. It is not necessarily going to solve all the problem, but we have been convinced, based on surveys that have been done, that well organized after-school programs, summer programs, can offer young people an alternative to which they are naturally going to gravitate.

Gangs provide a place where young people can go to communicate with one another. It is a safe place, as they see it. Obviously, it turns out to be quite the opposite. If we can provide alternatives to that, then I think we have as much of a chance of attracting a young person in the absence of that alternative who will end up in the streets or end up a statistic.

Even though we have adopted this already in our own bill, there is a strong opportunity for us here to urge the other body, as well, to move in that general area and to ask for the administration's support as well.

Last, I would just point out that according to the latest Children's Defense Fund/Newsweek survey, parents see after-school programs as the most effective way to cut crime, in fact, more so than even putting more police on the streets.

Again, I thank you for giving us a chance to highlight that particular effort that we adopted in the Senate. I urge that the House move in a similar direction.

Again, I emphasize the point that I think apprehension, adjudication, and incarceration certainly have value, but it is an incomplete answer. If we can catch the problem before it ends up in the system, then, of course, we can save tremendous dollars and, of course, save valuable and important lives for this nation as well. I thank you for listening.

Senator KOHL. We thank you very much, Senator Dodd, for giving us the benefit today of your long interest, history, and experience, as well as many great ideas that you have with respect to dealing with this problem of youth gang violence. We appreciate your coming here today.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KOHL. Senator Campbell from Colorado?

STATEMENT OF HON. BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Senator CAMPBELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am honored to be here with Senator Dodd and Senator Hatch, who have had much more experience than I have in working on crime-related bills.

I thought I would come, however, and speak just from personal experiences. I often think I am at least one of the very few in this body who has been on all four sides of the law.

As a youngster, I was on the wrong side and in a lot of trouble, running with some tough kids and stealing cars and selling guns and doing a lot of the things that now may seem pretty tame, but clearly a wrong direction as a youngster. I dropped out of high school, and if it hadn't been for two things, sports and the military service, I probably would have been in a different institution now.

When I came back from the service, I was on the right side. I went to night school and finally got into college and became a police major and, in later years, worked as a deputy sheriff in Sacramento, CA. That was the second side.

The third side was when I was counseling, as a volunteer counselor in Folsom Prison and ran what was called a halfway house for ex-convicts in Sacramento, CA.

The fourth side, of course, is here, trying to be a lawmaker who deals with some of the problems that, I guess as a youngster, I helped to create.

Senator COHEN. Some might argue you are back on the wrong side again.

Senator CAMPBELL. I have had that told to me a number of times, Senator. [Laughter.]

I have to really agree with Senator Dodd. I sometimes describe it as a pay now or pay later deal. I know that it is politically popular simply to talk tougher and be tougher, but I am not at all together sure that it is smarter. It may be tougher, but not smarter.

Clearly, we have the opportunity of putting resources in youngsters, or we have the obligation to put them into more prisons. I won't repeat all the numbers, but you are certainly aware, as I am, that we have the largest number of people in prisons of any country per capita and it seems to be going up and up.

Some towns have actually become in a posture of competitive bidding to become the location of a prison because it means steady jobs for their community and a steady tax base. To me, that is a rather sad commentary on what America is about, when we tend to look at other people who have been less fortunate than us as something to prey on, to keep in prison, because they at one time preyed on us in the streets. Clearly, it is not the answer.

I used to live in California during the time when what was called Proposition 13 went through, which was really a voter revolt against taxes, and you are very well aware of that. In fact, we sold our ranch in California to the daughter of the gentleman that had authored that Proposition 13, a fellow named Jarvis. At that time—that was in the 1970's—there were roughly 10,000 members of gangs, hard-core gangs, in Los Angeles.

A few months ago, I had the opportunity to fly on the airplane going back to Colorado with a man from the California Youth Authority that told me within 3 years after Proposition 13 had passed in California, the gangs in Los Angeles went from 10,000 to 42,000.

I mention that because I know it is very popular to simply say, we are not going to put money into inner-city programs, whether it is in the stimulus package or perhaps in the midnight basketball programs. Those are the kinds of things that are easily distorted and often look like pork spending and wasteful spending of taxpayers' money. They are tough to defend, but clearly, they are cheaper than $26,000 per year to warehouse an inmate for life for murder or to build cells at $1 million apiece. I am absolutely convinced that it is a thing we have to get ahead of the curve on.

Those old gangs, of course, migrated. They are all over the place now. There are Bloods and Crips in every city and Inca Boys in every city in the United States, and some even in small towns.

During our last break, I thought I would try to take a little more active participatory role in dealing with gangs, and so in Denver, we have about 7,000 gang members now, up from 700, in fact, just 3 years ago. We just have an explosion of them.

There is a reverend, a man of the cloth, in Colorado by the name of Leon Kelly. He used to be a gang member. He is an ordained minister now, but he still lives in the gang-invested areas of Denver. He works regularly with gangs to try to straighten out problems, try to get them on the right side of the law, try to make them productive citizens.

I spent a good number of times with him because he is virtually the only one in Denver, in the hard-core gang area, that the gangs will deal with. Everybody else is seen with some suspicion as kind of an outsider, as you might expect.

I asked Reverend Kelly to set up some meetings with gang leaders for me so that I could listen to them and deal with them, and he did. We met with leaders of Bloods, Crips, Inca Boys, and several others, too.

I might just pass on one story of the young man that was called Easy Money. Obviously, that nickname was because he thought there were easy ways to get money. He was 26 years old, and I noticed with interest Senator Hatch's chart here. You notice the numbers drop off at that age group, considerably at 26 years. What that doesn't point out, however, is even though the big numbers of the

gang members are in the 14, 15, 16-year age group, the ones they are following generally are a little older, in the 20's, the young-20's or mid-20's. So the numbers decrease, but the leadership value of those same people goes up conversely to the numbers.

Easy was 26 years old and spent eight of his 26 years in some institution or other. I asked him what he thought were major problems that gang members face if they are trying to straighten up their lives. He said, well, first of all, once you take a fall—the gangs, as you know, they become sort of a surrogate family for many youngsters who have come from broken homes or dysfunctional homes, who don't get sympathy or support or love or many things that normally a family would survive, gangs actually have filled that gap for some youngsters. It is unfortunate, but that is what they tell me.

Easy told me that the first thing that happens is it is sort of a red badge of courage when you go into a lockup and you are doing time, and there are people in there that you have heard about or knew that were ahead of you, a little older on a chronological scale who are gang leaders. They actually go in and end up learning how to do tougher things from these older, hard-core people that are already in the prisons.

I am the first one to tell you that I think there are some that are just simply predators that we probably will never be able to rehabilitate or never be able to turn around, and I understand the need for long-term incarceration of those few.

He also told me, though, that once he had served time, he found out that when he did get out, he didn't have any skills. He couldn't be a carpenter, couldn't be an electrician, couldn't be a plumber because he didn't have a chance or opportunity to learn those skills on the outside and they sure didn't teach him those skills on the inside, and there is just not much market for people that can punch out license plates. So that was the second problem.

The third problem was that whenever he would apply for a job, he would apply and he would put down on his resume—he would try to be honest—he said he was an ex-convict, and that was it. Very few companies would take a chance on an ex-convict.

The fourth thing, of course, was that he was on a permanent gang list that is not purged regularly with the Denver police department, and I assume most police departments have a gang list. When young men get out of prisons, they automatically go on a list as people to kind of watch.

So even a couple of years after he was out of prison and trying to be a little more productive, every time he would go to the movie or walk down the streets, if he was seen by the police he would be rousted and he would be up against the wall, spread eagle, whatever, and they would check him out to see if there were any current warrants on him and a number of things. He found it very difficult to even turn his life around because he was assumed once a gang member, always a gang member.

Denver, I might say, just did purge their gang list recently. I don't know if he is still on it, but there are certainly a number of people on it that probably shouldn't be now.

I also had an opportunity to visit one former Inca Boy member who was working now, a young man named Chico. I was very

pleased with the little company that hired him. It was called Hubcap Annie's, kind of a funny name, but they rehabilitate people as well as automobile parts, in this case, rims and hubcaps. It was the only job he ever had. He was a hard-core gang member before he got that job. I was amazed at how proud he was of himself, of having a productive job and the fact that he got a check once a week. It was a complete turnaround of personality. It was his first job.

Coors Beer also has a program, a major corporation in our State, that hires only former ex-convicts in that particular portion of their hiring policy. They have many people on a waiting list, but they always try to keep a certain number of jobs for people that took a fall, to try to help rehabilitate them.

I think those kinds of programs are tremendously valued and very often neglected, but I also think that perhaps what we ought to do is change the tax code here to give those corporations some kind of benefits for taking a chance on trying to straighten people's lives out.

It is politically not popular, as you know, to say anything that might be in defense of gangs, and I am not trying to defend them, but I am absolutely convinced that there has to be a better way to do it.

Through the good support and graces of the Senate pastor, some gang members were here just recently, as you probably know. Some of them came into my office, from Los Angeles and Denver, both. In fact, some of them were with Rev. Kelly, who I mentioned.

They went to the National Prayer Breakfast, where they heard Mother Teresa speak. I am sure the upstanding, good people that were in that National Cathedral who were sitting side by side with those young gang members had no idea they were gang members, because they were dressed in normal clothing and they weren't wearing colors or the bandannas or any of that. They were just youngsters. I am sure most people would have thought that, sitting next to them. I haven't talked to any of them since they left that prayer breakfast, but hopefully they were inspired to do something a little better with their lives.

They also were taken over on the House side, where there was a hearing such as this where some of them actually testified and heard testimony of victims of violent crime that were gang related. I hope that does some good, too.

But I know in my heart, as many of my colleagues do, that there are better ways.

Secretary Riley was just out to Denver, our Education Secretary, a few weeks ago, and we visited on high school, called West High School, that has a very, very strong sports program. The principal there told us that he could identify 150 hard-core gang members that were out for sports. In fact, it not only helped their grades, cut down their activities in the streets, but they were terrific competitors, too, on football, wrestling, and the other activities that required some physical contact. I guess they had a lot of practice in the streets. I know that there is hope for those kinds of youngsters.

In any event, Mr. Chairman, I certainly look forward to working with you. I did want to come by and just express a few personal insights and personal experiences I had. I want to thank you for

the leadership you have shown on this problem we have with American gangs.

Senator KOHL. We thank you for coming this morning, Senator Campbell. Your background and your experience, your insights are really valuable to us as we start today with this hearing and as we proceed beyond it to get some comprehensive and some effective programs going to continue to combat the problem of gang activity in our country.

We appreciate your coming. We know you are busy, and you don't have to remain throughout the hearing.

Senator CAMPBELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Prepared statement of Senator Campbell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to address this committee. As you know, Mr. Chairman, we are experiencing an unprecedented wave of gang formation and gang activity in our state of Colorado that is so menacing that society all but surrenders certain neighborhoods to gun-toting teens.

Colorado is not alone. Experts say most urban violence will see a rise in youth violence, stemming from poverty, lack of educational opportunities, the growing number of single-parent families and a proliferation of firearms.

Add to that a profound demographic change: The children of many baby boomers next year enter the 14- to 17-year-old age group. Murders by teens in that group rose 124 percent from 1986 to 1991, according to the Department of Justice.

It is estimated that there are currently 7,000 gang members in Denver, up from about 700 three years ago.

Last year, I took to the streets in the gang-infested areas of Denver to meet with and listen to several gang members to find out why they got involved in gangs and how hard it is to leave. They told me that the biggest part of the problem is kids who are looking for some kind of identity, companionship and affiliation they are not getting elsewhere.

Also, these kids realize the solution to gangs and violence can only come through self-help. But getting through to these kids is a problem. After listening to them, I shared with them my experiences as a kid who frequently found himself in trouble with the law and also as a young man employed as a counselor to work with inmates confined at both San Quentin and Folsom prisons. Their response was "how do they move from their current situation to becoming a productive member of society"? They can see both points, but haven't figured out a strategy for bridging that gap.

I feel that putting offenders in jail is a priority, but equally important is the ability to take a broader approach, focusing on kids and families, court diversion programs and prison alternatives.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I know there are no easy answers, but I think that if we take the time to listen, we very well may begin to understand the problem. I am committed to finding solutions to gangs and violence and look forward to working with your committee on this problem.

Thank you.

Senator KOHL. We would like to call our first panel of witnesses this morning. It is composed of members of the law enforcement and corrections communities, and they will provide us with up-to-date background on the gang problem. They will also focus on what we need to do to combat increasing gang-related crime and to most effectively deal with young gang members once they have entered the juvenile justice system.

Our first witness is Mr. James Frier, who is Deputy Assistant Director of the FBI. Mr. Frier heads the FBI's Criminal Investigative Division, and in that capacity he also supervises the FBI's anti-gang efforts.

We have also with us this morning Sergeant Mike Nichols, who is a 20-year veteran of the St. Louis Police Department. Mr. Nich-

ols heads the St. Louis Police Department gang squad, and he has trained local and Federal law enforcement officials throughout the Midwest in anti-gang strategies.

Finally, we are also pleased to have with us this morning Mr. Sam Ferraniola. Mr. Ferraniola runs the Glen Mills Schools, an innovative juvenile corrections institution whose population consists in large part of gang members and other hard-core juvenile offenders. Mr. Ferraniola's experiences will provide us with important guidance for the future.

We are glad to have you with us this morning, gentlemen. We ask that you keep your comments to 5 minutes or less. We will enter your full statement in the record.

We will start with you, Mr. Frier.

PANEL CONSISTING OF JAMES C. FRIER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, FBI, WASHINGTON, DC; SERGEANT MICHAEL NICHOLS, ST. LOUIS POLICE DEPARTMENT, ST. LOUIS, MO; AND SAM FERRANIOLA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, GLEN MILLS SCHOOLS, CONCORDVILLE, PA

STATEMENT OF JAMES C. FRIER

Mr. FRIER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have previously submitted to this subcommittee a statement, which I request be printed in the record in its entirety. I would like to take this opportunity, though, to highlight some of the areas from my longer statement.

I appreciate the opportunity to be with you today to speak about gangs, gang violence, and the FBI's role in addressing this significant problem. Despite the rising trends in violence crimes, perhaps the greatest concern stems from the alarming increase in the level of violence being committed by teenagers in America.

From 1988 to 1992, violence crimes committed by persons under the age of 18 increased by 47 percent, compared to an 18 percent increase for those over 18. During this period, persons arrested for murder under 18 rose from 1,600 to over 2,400, representing a 50 percent increase, or almost six times the rate of increase for Americans 18 years old or older.

Many factors have contributed to the increased incidence of violence crimes over the past years, but none more than the rise in the number of street gangs and their related violence. In nearly every metropolitan area of this country, street gangs are responsible for a substantial portion of the increase in the crimes of violence. These gangs, often drug oriented, pursue their criminal enterprise through an array of brutal crimes, including murder, kidnapping, extortion, assault, and robbery.

Some more commonly-known gangs have become national in scope in terms of membership, organizational structure, objectives, and criminal activity. Some have a national membership numbering as high as 30,000, and includes such groups as Bloods, Crips, Black Gangster Disciple Nations, Asian gangs, prison gangs, and motorcycle gangs.

Some of these gangs are typically characterized by a structured organization and command hierarchy, which is rigidly followed by the gang's particular territory, and they will use extensive violence to protect their territory. Most often, their primary means of in-

come involves trafficking in drugs. However, they may also be involved in a variety of legitimate and illegitimate business ventures.

Traditionally, these gangs come from larger metropolitan areas. However, as they have begun to proliferate and the competition for the drug trade continues to increase, members now relocate to other communities throughout the United States to expand their markets and increase their profits.

This is already happening with drug gangs in the Washington, DC area. The spreading influence of the local street gangs is moving to surrounding counties and even to rural Virginia and Maryland communities.

FBI investigations confirm the theory that gang migration is more extensive than previously suspected. A report published in 1992 by the Los Angeles District Attorney's office related that 60 to 70 percent of all crack cocaine distributed in Kansas City originated from Los Angeles. These gangs either kept or reestablished their organizational ties in order to maintain their source of supply. The Kansas City faction of the Rollin' Sixties Crips have been documented as distributing cocaine in Kansas, Missouri, Georgia, and Colorado.

In Missouri, the gang problem not only infiltrates the major metropolitan area, but also reaches smaller communities such as Springfield and Columbia. In Kansas, the cities of Topeka and Wichita have seen the presence of major distributors of cocaine from the Rollin' Sixties in Los Angeles, who are responsible for recruitment of individuals and their creation of drug distribution networks.

The Atlanta division of the FBI detected an influx of black gang members from the Chicago area that are affiliated with the nationally-known Black Gangster Disciple Nation. These gang members have been identified in Atlanta, Smyrna, and Marietta, GA. The migration to Smyrna and Marietta has occurred within the last year, and gangs have been identified as recruiting gang members at many school districts in the area.

The FBI currently has 26 field offices with investigations focusing on either Bloods or Crips, and eight offices focusing on the Black Gangster Disciple Nation. These figures alone attest to the extent and seriousness of the gang migration problem.

Despite the size, organization, and national scope of larger gangs, there is also an increase in the number of local, non-migrant street and drug gangs. These gangs are generally without formal organization and typically made up of 15 to 30 members between the ages of 14 and 25 who associate on a continual basis. Generally, the gang members have grown up together, and the gang will usually take a name, claim a particular territory or neighborhood, and direct its criminal activity against rival gang members and the general population.

I would now like to highlight some of the major steps taken by the FBI to address violent crimes. In January 1992, the FBI announced the Safe Streets Initiative, which is designed to promote a coordinated effort between each FBI field division and their respective local counterparts to attack street gang and drug-related violence and to locate and apprehend fugitives.

The FBI has formed task forces, teaming agents with State, local, and other Federal law enforcement officers. The primary mission of these task forces is to investigate, locate, apprehend, and prosecute subjects for serious Federal and State crimes such as gang-related violence, bank robbery, armed robbery, kidnapping, murder, and extortion. These FBI-sponsored task forces utilize a variety of Federal statutes as well as State and local violations.

We currently have 108 Safe Streets task forces in 51 offices throughout the United States. Currently, we have a total of 1,300 individuals, State, local, and FBI officers who are so involved, and our results have been impressive. Within Safe Streets, we have increased our arrests 84 percent in 1992. This has gone up to 54 percent above that in 1993.

We have formulated a national drug strategy and we have entered into cooperative efforts with the National Drug Intelligence Center. We are utilizing this intelligence base with the National Drug Intelligence Center to focus on our efforts to identify the scope and extent of the activities of criminal gangs.

This concludes my statement. I am certainly available for further discussion, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Frier follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES C. FRIER ON BEHALF OF THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Good morning Mr. Chairman, Subcommittee Members, and Staff. My name is Jim Frier and I am the Deputy Assistant Director in the Criminal Investigative Division of the FBI, having responsibility for the organized crime/drug program and the violent crimes and major offenders investigative program; I appreciate the opportunity to be with you today to speak about gangs, gang violence, and the FBI's role in addressing this significant problem. At the outset, I would like to state that we are speaking here on behalf of law enforcement agencies around the country, particularly those thousands of small communities that lack the resources and technical expertise to adequately deal with the emerging gangs that are terrorizing our country today.

The number of violent crimes committed each year has continued to escalate. From 1988–1992, the incidence of violent crimes increased by 23 percent across the USA. During the same period, the number of murders increased by 15 percent, as did robbery (24 percent) and aggravated assault (24 percent).

Despite the rising trends in violent crime, perhaps the greatest concern stems from the alarming increase in the level of violence being committed by teenagers in America. From 1988 to 1992, violent crimes committed by persons *under* 18 increased by 47 percent compared to an 18 percent increase for those over; 18. During this period, persons arrested for murder under 18 rose from 1,634 to 26, representing–a 50 percent increase or almost six times the rate of increase for Americans 18 and older.

Many factors have contributed to the increased incidence of violent crime over the past several years, but none more than the rise in the number of street gangs and the related violence. In nearly every metropolitan area of this country, street gangs and other loosely knit groups are responsible for a substantial portion of the increase in crimes of violence. Law enforcement entities have determined that these gangs, often drug oriented, pursue their criminal enterprise through an array of brutal crimes, including murder, kidnapping, extortion, assault and robbery.

For many years the FBI has been actively investigating many of the gangs that are more commonly known. These gangs have become national in scope in terms of membership, organizational structure, objectives and criminal activity. Some may have a national membership numbering as high as 30,000 and would include groups such as the bloods, the crips, the black gangster disciple nation, the Latin kings, motorcycle gangs, Asian gangs and various prison gangs.

Surveys indicate that the predominance of the gangs have emerged within the last 10 years with 200 cities identified as having gangs in 1982 compared to *over* 700 identified in 1992.

Some of these gangs are not entirely unlike the organized crime groups that you have heard about. They are typically characterized by a structured organization and a command hierarchy which is rigidly followed within the gang's particular territory. They will often be made up of many subgroups or subsets which may have their own organization within the subset. They will use extensive violence to protect their territory. FBI investigations reveal that often their primary means of income involves trafficking in drugs. In many cases, due to a high degree of sophistication and organization they may be involved in legitimate business ventures.

Traditionally these gangs have been based in the larger metropolitan areas, however, as these gangs have begun to proliferate and competition for the drug trade continues to increase, members now re–locate to other communities throughout the united states to expand their markets and increase their profits from illegal drug trade. This is already happening with drug gangs in the Washington, D.C., area. Investigators are discovering the spreading influence of local street gangs in surrounding counties and even in rural Virginia and Maryland communities.

Interim results from a study conducted by researchers at the University of Southern California, entitled "the scope of street gang migration in the U.S.," establish that gang migration is far more extensive than previously suspected. out of the 190 cities with populations over 100,000, 155 (82 percent), cite at least some form of gang migration. Of 1100 cities surveyed with populations of less than 100,000, 554 (50 percent), cite some form of gang migration. 74 percent report their first migration within the last five years. The final report should be completed in the fall of 1994.

FBI investigations confirm this assessment. The Kansas City Division has identified 28 different active crips gang sets and 18 different active blood gang sets in the Kansas City metropolitan area. A report published in 1992 by the Los Angeles District Attorney's office related that Kansas City Narcotics Officers estimated that 60–70 percent of all crack cocaine distributed in Kansas City originated in Los Angeles. While the migration of the bloods and/or crips who were responsible for these drugs may not always be organizationally motivated, these gang members did, nonetheless, migrate to Kansas City in part because they could sell drugs for prices at least twice as high as prices in California. These gang members either kept or reestablished their organizational ties in order to maintain their source of drug supply.

The Kansas City faction of the "rollin sixties" crips, have been documented as distributing cocaine in Kansas, Missouri, Georgia and Colorado. In Missouri, the gang problem not only infiltrates the major metropolitan area; but also reaches smaller communities such as Springfield and Columbia, Missouri. In Kansas, the cities of Topeka and Wichita have seen the presence of a major distributor of cocaine from the rollin sixties in Los Angeles who is responsible for the recruitment of individuals and creation of a drug distribution network.

The Atlanta division of the FBI detected an influx of black gang members from the Chicago, Illinois area that are affiliated with the nationally known black gangster disciple nation. These gang members have been identified in Atlanta, Smyrna, and Marietta, Georgia. The migration to Smyrna and Marietta has occurred within the last year and gangs have been identified as recruiting gang members at many school districts in the area. In the City of Atlanta, the members of the black gangster disciple nation have formed an alliance, and control significant areas of the city.

The FBI currently has 26 field offices with investigations focusing on either the bloods or the crips. We have eight offices that are focusing on the black gangster disciple nation. These figures alone attest to the extent and seriousness of the gang migration problem.

Despite the size and presence of sets of some gangs throughout the country, there is also an increase in the number of local, non-migrant street and drug gangs. These gangs are generally without formal organization and are typically made up of 15–30 members between the ages of 14 and 24 who associate on a continuous basis. Generally, the gang members will have grown up together and the gang will usually take a name, claim a particular territory or neighborhood, and direct its criminal activity against rival gang members and the general population. As these gangs have gained sophistication, the types of weapons have evolved from clubs and knives, to handguns and automatic weapons.

What steps have been taken by the FBI to address the violent crime problem? in 1989, the FBI recognized violent crimes as a national priority, and to address the specific problems associated with gang violence in our communities, the FBI announced the "safe streets" initiative in January 1992. The safe streets program is an initiative designed to promote a coordinated effort between each FBI field division and their respective local counterparts to attack street gang and drug related violence and to locate and apprehend violent fugitives, through the application of the individual investigative expertise of each participating agency.

To accomplish this mission the FBI has formed task forces, teaming FBI special agents with state, local and other federal law enforcement officers. The primary mission of these task forces is to achieve coordination and cooperation among participating state and local law enforcement agencies to investigate, locate, apprehend and prosecute subjects for serious Federal and State crimes such as gang related violence, bank robbery, armed robbery, kidnapping, murder, and extortion. These FBI sponsored task forces utilize a variety of Federal statutes including racketeering drug violations and weapons violations as well as other Federal, State and local violations to target violent criminal offenders and gangs.

The FBI's national gang strategy is structured to enhance the FBI's gang intelligence base, identify trends, and make projections regarding composition, methodology and criminal activity, and to provide assistance to other law enforcement agencies. For each investigation within this strategy, the FBI requires the development of an organizational focused intelligence base and the implementation of a coordinated strategy to maximize investigative results. The FBI also extensively employs the use of racketeering enterprise investigations to discern the composition, structure and activities of the significant violent gangs impacting on the national level.

The FBI has recently entered into a cooperative effort with the national drug intelligence center to develop a nationwide perspective of the bloods and crips gang problem. Additional intelligence initiatives regarding other major violent gangs include the black gangster disciple nation and the vice lords/the almighty Latin king nation.

We currently have 108 safe streets task forces in 51 field offices throughout the United States with over 1,300 FBI, State and local law enforcement professionals, working together and making a difference in our fight against violence. We are very proud of the significant accomplishments of the task forces during the past year.

During 1991, the FBI's violent crime and major offenders program had a total of 6,658 arrests. Following the implementation of the safe streets initiative during the second quarter of 1992, the violent crime and major offenders program had 12,293 arrests during all of 1992 which represents an 84 percent increase in arrests. In 1993, the safe streets initiative was responsible for 18,922 arrests, a 54 percent increase from 1992.

Since the program's inception, over 15,000 arrests have been made of subjects wanted for the most serious crimes: murder, kidnapping, bank robbery, and extortion. These arrests include both gang and non-gang related arrests.

Throughout the country, safe streets task forces are removing the most hardened and violent criminals from our streets.

We believe we are having a significant impact on violent crime. The numbers, while staggering, often fail to convey the human misery suffered in our communities from violent acts. The nature of the violent criminal is also changing. while we have always had juvenile delinquency as a minor criminal problem, serious crime is no longer considered the product of only adults. With its' national violent crime strategy and the national gang strategy, the FBI, in cooperation with other law enforcement agencies, will seek to dismantle major criminal groups, domestic gangs and target individuals who engage in organized patterns of violent activity or who are being sought as fugitives who previously committed violent acts.

We do not believe that we can do the job alone. There is an abundance of work remaining, and an ever shrinking pool of resources. It is only through the mutual cooperation of all law enforcement resources that we can hope to achieve success.

This concludes my opening remarks. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have at this time.

Senator KOHL. We thank you very much, Mr. Frier. It is a pleasure to have you with us today.

Sergeant Nichols?

STATEMENT OF SERGEANT MICHAEL NICHOLS

Mr. NICHOLS. Thank you, sir. Good morning.

First of all, I would like to recognize all the good youth in the United States. They get very little recognition nowadays.

And second of all, I would also like to state, as the Senator before me, that I went into the Marine Corps and the boot camp straightened me out. I am fearful today of what might have occurred had I not gone through Marine Corps boot camp.

Mr. Chairman and members of the distinguished Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, I would like to take this moment to thank you for allowing me the honor of testifying before you. Having been a police officer for more than 20 years, I am very honored and humbled to be given the privilege of sharing my accumulated knowledge with this respected assembly representing our country's great judiciary system.

What I am about to share with this committee is critical information concerning what I firmly believe is an epidemic of gangs in the United States. Not only are these gangs spreading their deadly violence in our urban communities, they are also evolving from the streets of our cities and suburbs and are beginning to impact rural areas of this great country.

For the record, my name is Michael Nichols. I am a sergeant with the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department, and my present assignment is the supervisor of the gang squad, assigned to the intelligence division under the command of Captain Harry Hegger.

Since the inception of my department's gang squad, I and the dedicated officers of my unit have had the opportunity to communicate with Federal, State, and local gang investigators from coast to coast. I believe the overall consensus concerning gangs is that stronger suppression and intervention strategies must be adopted, lest we use yet another generation of youth to the already demonstrated deadly violence.

I have given over 200 gang lectures, and in each of these presentations I have stated that we will experience 10 more years of gangs. What do I base such a disturbing prediction on?

The present age of a gang member in the metropolitan area of St. Louis, MO, is between 11 and 22 years of age. Should the 11-year-old be lucky enough not to be killed in a gang war over drugs or mugs, stares that are exchanged between two gang members, and should this youth not receive a lengthy sentence for committing a violent crime, he will more than likely remain a member of the violent street culture until 22 years of age. In some instances, it may be even longer.

I will now examine my city and State. I will start with St. Louis City. In our jurisdiction, we have documented more than 40 gangs. However, we believe that at least another ten to 15 possibly exist. The total membership of these groups is between 600 to 900 members, with an equal amount of peripheral members existing.

In the year 1992, our city experienced 231 homicides, of which 47 murders, or 20 percent, were directly or indirectly related to gangs. In 1993, the City of St. Louis exceeded a previous record set for homicides with an all-time high of 274 murders. Of that number, 79, or 28 percent, were directly or indirectly related to gangs.

Upon examining the St. Louis metropolitan region, gang members have documented more than 120-plus gangs in the region, or sets, as some would prefer to identify them as. The total number of documented gang membership in these three jurisdictions is numbered at approximately 1,700 gang members. It is believed that the gang population of the metropolitan area could be as high as 3,000, if all peripherals were documented.

My observations concerning rural America leads me to believe that within the next 5 years, this epidemic of gangs will by then

have obtained a substantial foothold in the rural communities of the heartland. To my knowledge, no studies have been conducted in this area. However, my unit has tracked gang members migrating from our city into more rural counties surrounding the St. Louis area.

Although the gangs of greater St. Louis are not considered to be major drug distributors, a few can qualify as mid-level distributors. The majority of the gangs, however, are not deeply involved in a daily routine of drug sales. This is not to say that should a distributor of illegal drugs approach the gang, they would not become a drug faction to deal with.

We need more cooperation from the State and Federal prosecutors and judges when it comes to battling all crimes. By constantly refusing warrants on certain cases, we are sending a message to the criminal element that crime pays. If we need to build more prisons, then I say, raise my taxes and let us start building.

We need to change the juvenile laws, especially in Missouri. Last year at a gang seminar in St. Louis, we had an active gang member address the police officers in the audience. As a juvenile, when he was asked what he thought of the juvenile laws in the State of Missouri, he replied, they are a joke.

We need more laws added to the Federal and State statutes. The answer is simply not unless we plan on enforcing them. Laws are worthless if they are circumvented by prosecutors and judges time after time.

Locking everyone up is not the total answer. We must work together to achieve other remedies, such as community-oriented policing, also known as community-oriented problem solving or COPS. This is a method where the police officer and the community become dependent on and responsible to one another.

More Federal grant money needs to be provided to enable communities to establish gang counseling within their community centers. These centers provide a youth and his parents the opportunity to obtain professional counseling and help.

Job training can be a remedy, but remember, there are only so many jobs to go around.

I strongly believe that should this great nation of ours fail to come to grips with the reality of gangs, it will cause the demise of our country. Please remember that a gang is only as strong as a community will allow it to be.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department and myself to thank Chairman Kohl for allowing me to address this subcommittee on this extremely important issue. Thank you, gentlemen.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Nichols follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SERGEANT MICHAEL NICHOLS ON BEHALF OF THE ST. LOUIS METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT'S GANG INTELLIGENCE SECTION

Mr. Chairman and members of the distinguished Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, I would like to take this moment to thank you for allowing me the honor of testifying before you. Having been a police officer for more than twenty years I am very honored and humbled to be given the privilege of sharing my accumulated knowledge with this respected assembly representing our country's great judicial system.

My name is Michael Nichols. I am a sergeant with the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department. My present assignment is that of supervisor of the Gang Squad.

assigned to the Intelligence Division, under the command of Captain Harry Hegger. I have held that supervisory role since September 21, 1991, when Colonel Clarence Harmon requested that I form the department's Gang Squad. Be advised that although the Gang Squad has only been existence since that date, I have actively tracked gangs in the metropolitan area of St. Louis since 1988.

What I am about to share with this committee is critical information concerning what I firmly believe is an epidemic of gangs in the United States. Not only are these gangs spreading their deadly violence on our urban communities, they are also evolving from the streets of our cities and suburbs and are beginning to impact rural areas of this great country.

Since the inception of my department's Gang Squad, i and the dedicated officers of my unit have had the opportunity to communicate with federal, state and local gang investigators from coast to coast. I believe the over-all consensus concerning gangs is that stronger suppression and intervention strategies must be adopted lest we lose yet another generation of youth to the already demonstrated deadly violence.

I have given over two hundred gang awareness lectures, and in each of these presentations I have stated that we will experience ten more years of gangs. What do I base such a disturbing prediction on? The present age of a gang member in the metropolitan area of St. Louis is between eleven and twenty-two years of age. Should the eleven year old be lucky enough not to be killed in a gang war over drugs or mugs (stares exchanged between two gang members), and should this youth not receive a lengthy sentence for committing a violent crime, he will more than likely remain a member of the violent street culture until twenty-two years of age. In some instances even longer.

GEOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

I will at this time take the committee on a short trip throughout the United States to illustrate the geographical scope of the problem. We will begin by visiting the gang capital of the world, a disturbing title for a major city in our country.

Los Angeles County, which contains the City of Angels, for the year of 1991 recorded approximately 750 gang-related killings. During the year of 1992 an additional 800 plus gang-related killings took place in L.A. County. To place some perspective on this number, one must examine the entire homicide rate for this locale. In 1992 the County of Los Angeles experienced 2,500 homicides of which 800 were related to gang activity. 32 percent of the homicides committed in Los Angeles were gang-related. Although I do not yet possess the official figures for 1993, I have been advised that it will be below the 800 mark but still over the 750 mark of 1992.

Upon totalling these sums of murder and mayhem you will find the mind-staggering figure of 2,300 gang homicides. How can we admonish the IRA and Protestants of Northern Ireland when in one county in the United States of America we are suffering this type of slaughter to our most precious commodity, our youth, our children.

Before leaving Los Angeles County we must understand that the gang units have documented more that 1,000 gangs and 131,000 documented gang members. Yes, 131,000 gang members.

We next travel to Orange County California, where we will find 38,000 documented gang members. When we combine these numbers with those of Los Angles County we find that two counties in the State of California have a total gang membership of 161,000. This number represents a gang population equaling more than one half of the United States Marine Corps' authorized strength during peace times.

In continuing our journey we will briefly touch upon several cities across our nation. Salt Lake City Utah, the Mormon Capitol. Untouched by gangs? No! They have Tonga gangs, Samoan gangs and Polynesian gangs. Wichita, Kansas, construed by many to be a quiet community upon the prairie. Wrong. In September of 1991 two gang investigators of the Wichita Kansas Police Department were conducting what most officers would state was a routine surveillance in gang neighborhood. While seated in their vehicle a gang member crept up and fired several shots into their vehicle. The officers were very lucky and their lives were spared because of bullet proof vest.

The story should end at this time with the exception of a possible arrest for the assault on the officers. However, it does not. After both wounded officers were conveyed to the hospital, a team of detectives was conducting an investigation on the scene when the gang returned in two vehicles and fired numerous shots at the investigators.

Chicago, Illinois had a centralized gang unit numbering approximately 300 investigators. This city officially acknowledges 15,000 gang members, while unofficially admitting to 51,000.

Denver, Colorado, like St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri experienced a record breaking number of homicides for the year 1992. Denver reports approximately 6,000 gang members. Kansas City, Missouri will only admit to approximately 600 hard core. They do not count their peripheral members, those who just hang around the gang and are many times more dangerous than the core members themselves.

Very recently in Atlanta, Georgia a drug investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation resulted in the seizure of three quarters of a million dollars from the Chicago based Disciple gang.

I will now examine my City and State and I will start with St. Louis City. In our jurisdiction we have documented more than 40 gangs, however we believe that at least another ten to fifteen gangs possibly exist. The total membership of these groups is between 600 to 900 members with an equal amount of peripheral members existing.

In the year 1992 our city experienced 231 homicides of which forty seven murders, or 20 percent, were directly or indirectly related to gangs. In 1993 the City of St. Louis exceeded a previous record set for homicides with an all time high of 274 murders. Of that number 78 or 28 percent were directly or indirectly related to gangs.

Upon examining the St. Louis Metropolitan Region, (with the exception of East St. Louis, Illinois, and St. Charles County, Missouri) regional gang investigators have documented more that 120+ gangs or sets, as some would prefer to identify them, existing within three counties. The counties are identified as St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and Jefferson County. The total number of documented gang membership in these three jurisdictions is numbered at approximately 1700. It is believed that the gang population of this metropolitan area could be as high as 3,000, if all peripherals were documented.

STATISTICAL OVERVIEW OF GANGS IN THE UNITED STATES

Other cities experiencing gang activity are Burlington, Ia., Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Omaha, Natchez, Alexandria La., San Antonio, Dallas, Phoenix, Albuquerque, New Haven Conn., etc. The list of cities is endless, but to simplify matters I will present the results of two studies.

In 1991 and 1992 two major studies were conducted in the united States concerning the street gang phenomena spreading throughout our country. The findings of these studies are as follows:

I. TITLE: STREET GANGS IN AMERICA'S LARGEST CITIES

A Report to the Chief's, conducted by Malcolm W. Klein, Center for Research on Crime and Social Control, University of Southern California.

In the late spring of 1991, a request was sent to the chiefs of police for 92 of the 100 largest cities in the U.S. seeking an appropriate respondent for a brief survey concerning street gangs. Omitted were New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Los Angles, San Francisco, Seattle, and El Paso, cities known for their gang activity in the 1960's and earlier. A full 100 percent of the departments responded to the survey and the following data was obtained:

A. Fifteen of the 100 cities experienced street gang problems prior to 1965.

B. Twenty-five saw gangs emerge between 1965 and 1984.

C. Forty-two reported having experienced a gang problem since 1985.

D. Eighteen stated that they did not have a gang problem.

E. This survey revealed that most gang problems are locally derived, although in a number of cases, exacerbated by travelling gang members from outside and by the media.

F. Police departments have varied widely in their response to the gang problem. Initially, many publicly denied having a problem for several years. Eventually, the deniers had to take action (often because of a particular horrendous incident, or the victimization of a public official's family member).

II. TITLE: NATIONAL ASSESSMENT SURVEY OF ANTI-GANG

Law enforcement resources

This survey was conducted by the Gang Research Crime & Justice Studies, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, West Virginia University, in cooperation with the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

A survey was conducted of metropolitan police departments in seventy-eight U.S. cities with populations of 200,000 or over and in forty-five U.S. cities with a population under 200,000. This survey was conducted in 1992 for the purpose of updating and generating a national profile of the geographic distribution of the gang problem in the U.S. The assessment was also directed at examining changes in the U.S. gang problem and law enforcement's response to this problem. The final purpose of the survey was to determine the types of resources available to law enforcement in their dealings with gangs.

The following data was obtained as a result of this survey:

A. Seventy-five or 96.2 percent of the large cities police departments reported having some level of gang or gang-like group problems. Only three of the seventy-eight large city police departments reported not having a gang type problem.

B. Thirty-seven or 82.2 percent of the smaller cities police departments report a gang problem. Five of these smaller cities were identified as not having a gang problem.

RURAL AMERICA

My observation concerning rural America leads me believe that within the next five years this epidemic of gangs will by then have obtained a substantial foot-hold in the rural communities of the heartland. To my knowledge no studies have been conducted in this area, however, my Unit has tracked gang members migrating from our City into the more rural counties surrounding St Louis.

Many times these gangsters are temporarily living with a relative who may reside in the country. Why? In many instances it is to "Chill Out" or in other words lay low until the danger back home subsides. Sometimes a parent feels that by removing their child from the urban environment they will protect him from the influences of a neighborhood gang. Many times the parents fail or refuse to realize that their child is already involved in gang activity, thus the maneuver causes the relocation of a gang member into another community. Once moved to this new location the young gangster will attract other youth [at risk] with his elaborate mystic. He will razzle and dazzle them with all of the codes, clothes, scribbling and well-executed hand signs of his set back n the hood.

An unofficial poll was conducted in 1992 by Duane Voltmer of the Missouri Department of Public Safety. The reason for the poll was to ascertain how many youth being held in Missouri juvenile detention facilities claimed gang affiliations. Mr. Voltmer was amazed when he discovered that six of every ten youths in Missouri being held on the day the survey was conducted claimed affiliation to a gang. The survey also revealed one other startling detail. Due to over crowding of the juvenile facilities located in St. Louis and Kansas City many times it was necessary to move incarcerated youth to out state facilities. The placing of the urban gang member into a rural juvenile facility simply provided the rural youth [at risk] with a very good education on how to be a gangster. Missouri is presently experiencing a gang presence in several of Its counties throughout the State.

However, we must remember that Missouri is not alone in experiencing these problems. Illinois, which conducted a survey in June of 1991 discovered that thirty-two of its counties had some type of gang-related activities occurring within their jurisdictions.

According to an AP news release dated February 23, 1993. "Kansas, Often perceived as a pastoral farmland immune from urban problems, has a growing gang problem more in tune with the image of the gunslingers who used to frequent the saloons of Dodge City. Officials blame growth on aggressive recruiting and expansion by big-city crime groups that have found an opportunity for growth throughout the state. They are beginning to see (gangs) in smaller communities. They follow the path of least resistance—when the heat's on from police in bigger cities around the country, the gangs reach out to other communities."

Respected members of this committee, rural law enforcement, in my opinion, is in no position to deal with this problem effectively, at least not without the assist-

ance of state and federal agencies. For approximately the last two years I had attempted to persuade the Missouri State Highway Patrol that they needed to begin some sort of preparations to address this problem. At the least they need to gather gang intelligence so that they can begin planning some sort obtaining and enforcement strategies with rural law agencies. In January I was notified that one trooper would be assigned as a liaison officer between our agencies. I perceive this to be the first step in the right direction.

CRIMINAL ACTIVITY OF GANGS

The gangs located within the metropolitan area of St. Louis have been documented as being responsible for the following types of criminal activity:

1. Murder
2. Rape
3. Arson
4. Assault
5. Robbery
6. Burglary
7. Auto Theft
8. Narcotic Trafficking
9. Weapons Violations

In June of 1993 the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department began computerizing gang crimes. Gang crimes are categorized into two separate groups, gang-related drive-by and gang related only crimes. The totals for these two categories are as follows:

GANG DRIVE-BY ONLY

Month	Amount
June	10
July	22
August	9
September	7
October	13
November	5
December	3
Total	69

GANG-RELATED ONLY

Month	Amount
June	48
July	42
August	35
September	35
October	42
November	24
December	28
Total	254

Upon adding these figures we arrive at a subtotal of 324 Gang Crimes for the second half of 1993.

Although the gangs of Greater St. Louis are not considered to be major drug distributors, a few can qualify as mid-level distributors. The majority of the gangs however, are not deeply involved in a daily routine of drug sales. This is not to say that should a distributor of illegal drugs approach a gang, they would not become a drug faction to deal with. In order to deal in quantities of drugs one must have a connect ion in California, Florida, Texas, or Chicago. Many of our gangs do not possess this type of trusted association, and for lack of, they must bargain with local mid-level dealers which only allows them to deal in limited quantities.

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

St. Louis gangs in the metropolitan area are comprised mainly of African American youth. White gangs do exit, as well as some integrated groups. This region is just now beginning to experience what we believe may be an a Asian and Hispanic gang presence, however it is very minimal at this time.

The average gang member's age is approximately 19 years 10 months, with the age range as I stated previously between eleven and twenty-two years of age. We have seen on occasion members as young as nine years of age, but this is an exception to the rule. A mature nine year old could be allowed to associate with a gang normally because he has an older brother already belonging to the gang.

Although we do have eleven year old gang members, even more disturbing is the fact that we are beginning to see children as young as four years of age emulating gang activity. How, you may ask, can a four year old emulate such actions? They are in the beginning process of exposure to or training by an older sibling, cousin, aunt, uncle, mother's boyfriend, or next door neighbor. I have received reports of four year old children being taught how to roll gang hand signs (normally described as set signs) and then progressing into what is generally referred to as rolling doubles, the use of two hands at the same time.

Honored members of this committee, I have not only received reports of this, I possess a copy of a photograph published in the Catholic Charities Christmas Appeal insert. This flyer accompanied the St. Louis Catholic Review News Paper. The photograph depicts several children, ages four through five, sitting on a volunteer's lap, three of these children are displaying what appears to be gang set signs.

These children could possibly be St. Louis's next generation of gangsters. This is not hard to contemplate when one understands that Los Angeles is already into it's third generation of gangs. How can this be? I call it brain-washing, indoctrination at a very young age into the cultural world of gangs, and gangsterism.

Upon examining the structure of the gangs in Greater St. Louis you will find that each gang is made up of from one as many as four leaders who are commonly referred to as Shot Callers. These individuals are normally, but not necessarily always, the older members of a gang who range in ages from seventeen to twenty-two years of age. Shot callers are not elected to this rank in the gang. They are usually the meanest most unstable, or charismatic members of the group.

The next member is what we refer to as an enforcer. These individuals normally carry out or supervise gang retaliations and punishment to those members of the gang who may violate a rule or step out of line.

Normally all the above members are considered to be O.G.s or Original Gangsters. The oldest are members who have so far successfully survived the street wars waged by gangs. One point I will raise about this group, they are almost always hard core violent offenders. They would have been hard core violent offenders whether gangs were here today or not. They are the core of each gang, the adhesive that holds the gang together. These are the ones, who through gangs have found a slick way in our society to lead our youth astray. They indoctrinate our youth into the world of gangs which eventually destroys and shatters many of their lives.

These are the subjects who must be targeted by law enforcement, the prosecutors, the courts and ultimately the community for swift prosecution and enhanced punishment. The core members must be removed from society when they are found to have either committed a violent crime or to have caused it. Our society has become too sensitive to the needs of these violent offenders and it must realize that those who commit such crimes and who repeat their crimes relinquish their rights to live within the communities of God-fearing, honest citizens.

The lowest members in the gang are the mules or go-fars. Many of these youths are attempting to be accepted into the group, so that they themselves can someday hold a respectable rank.

On the outside of the gang looking in are the peripherals, those who may hang with the gang members today and tomorrow, but possibly may not be seen with the gang for a week or two. Many of these individuals are school friends or neighborhood buddies. Some have no aspiration of joining the gang, they just want to hang around with their friends who belong to a gang. Others are just waiting to be chosen and become a member of the extended family, as the Gangster Disciples would explain. Some youth want this acceptance so bad that they will actually commit drive-bys to obtain membership.

Over the last year my unit has begun to see a change in the organizational abilities of some gangs. We have seen on two occasions gangs forming alliances, self defense pacts with other gangs. These alliances are devised so that no one gang has to stand on it's own when involved in a war with other gangs. Should a gang become involved in a war other gangs belonging to the alliance retaliate also.

The formation of these alliances does not cause me as much concern as does recent events taking place in Chicago. The Gangster Disciples Nation has been becoming more and more involved in politics. In order to improve it's image so that it may ascend in the political arena, the organization now refers to it's initials of G.D. as meaning growth and development.

This is the same organization that the Chicago Police Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other agencies have been battling for years. Suddenly they have decided to change their image, and are telling our youth "We Are Your Extended Family."

The Disciple Nation, the extended family of our youth, is the same organization, or gang, who's members have for years been involved in murder, arson, weapons violations, and narcotic sales. This same group is now beginning to court politicians in major cities throughout the United States.

However, the tactics presently being used by the Disciples are not new. In the 1960's business and community leaders in Chicago courted the gangs. They even appropriated $300,000 for job training and gave it to a gang identified as the Blackstone Rangers, only to have the leader later convicted for misapplying federal funds and trafficking in narcotics. Will history repeat itself?

SUPPRESSION, INTERVENTION AND PREVENTION

At this moment I do not feel that any one gang in our region, other than the Disciples are organized. However, how long will we as a nation wait before we do something productive to stop the gang killings and to put a stop to the gangs? What can we do?

We must begin by changing certain laws in the United States concerning the hard core criminal. I do not believe we need a three time looser law when it come to the violent offenders. We need a two time looser law with mandatory fifty years without parole. We need a change in the Federal Statutes that allow the F.B.I. and A.T.E. to investigate certain juvenile of fenders and we need the Federal prosecutors and judges to see that the proper attention is given to these cases. They should not defer them to the state for prosecution when we know the state will not prosecute them either.

We need more cooperation from the state prosecutors and judges when it comes to battling all crimes. By constantly refusing warrants on certain cases we are sending a message to the criminal element that crime pays. If we need to build more prisons, then I say raise my taxes and let's start building.

We need to change the juvenile laws, especially in Missouri. last year at a gang seminar in St. Louis we had an active gang member address the police officers in the audience. When asked what he, as a juvenile, thought of the juvenile laws in Missouri, he replied "They are a joke." If a juvenile commits a violent crime he must be held accountable for his actions, and he must understand that he will be held accountable. Should you visit the St. Louis Juvenile Courts you will see certain chambers are marked "referee." Does this instill into a youth that he is in court for serious business or simply to play a game?

Do we need more laws added to the federal and state statutes? The answer is simple-not unless we plan on enforcing them. Laws are worthless if they are circumvented by prosecutors and judges time after time.

How does the probation and parole system contribute to the problem? By not revoking a gang member's probation or parole until he has accumulated five violations. Ladies and gentlemen, it took me more than six months and five violations before I could even get the State Probation and Parole people to revoke a gang leader's probation. This shot caller's gang was responsible for more than six killings, and to date is still involved in a gang war which has taken twenty lives. However our society allowed this individual to walk free on our streets and make a mockery of our system. Should you ever wonder why people are afraid to testify, just remember the example I have given.

Locking everyone up is not the total answer. We must work together to achieve other remedies such as Community Oriented Policing also known as Community Oriented Problem Solving, or C.O.P.S. This is a method where the police officer and the community become dependent on and responsible to one another.

More federal grant money needs to be provided to enable communities to establish gang counselling within their community centers. These centers provide a youth and his parent(s) the opportunity to obtain professional counselling and help.

Job training can be a remedy, but remember there are only so many jobs to go around. Has any one given any thought to reinstituting the draft? The armed services provides a means of administering much needed discipline to many youths who have never before in their lives had anyone tell them "No." Not only will it provide

disciplinary training, it also provides shelter, clothing, a wage and, in many instances, a job skill not to mention badly needed self-esteem. Later they are mature enough to make their own rational decisions.

In closing I would like you to remember the four year olds I have previously mentioned and I want to make mention of a theory I have. You must picture yourself standing in a room and in the center of the room stands a large furnace. Now picture on the one side of the furnace hundreds of innocent four year old children and on the other side nothing but scarred, burned, and charred remnants of what one was an innocent child.

We in society have stood by too long on the wrong end of the furnace. By the time we begin to have contact with the children they have already been abused. They have not been taught what is morally right from wrong, and they have been scarred by the many pit falls and hardships that they must face while growing up.

We in society must begin to reposition ourselves on the other end of the furnace and stop the fueling of the fire. We must hold parents responsible for their children. We in turn are responsible to provide programs and services that will assure that these children have a chance in life.

I strongly believe that should this great Nation of ours fail to come to grips with the realities of gangs, it will cause the demise of our country. Please remember that a gang is only as strong as the community allows it to be.

In conclusion I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department and myself, to thank Chairman Kohl for allowing me to address the Subcommittee on this extremely important issue.

Senator KOHL. We thank you very much, Sgt. Nichols. We look forward to having a conversation with you in just a minute.

Mr. Ferraniola?

STATEMENT OF SAM FERRANIOLA

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Good morning, Senator Kohl and Senator Cohen.

I would like to address my remarks to three basis questions in relationship to violent delinquent gangs. The first question is, what are we trying to accomplish with them? Why are we failing? What can be done, or is there some evidence out there that is hopeful?

What we should be trying to do with gang kids is change their behavior from deviant to pro-social, and then I liked what you said, Senator Kohl. We have to begin to emphasize life skills. Without life skills, when they become young men and have to go out into the work force, they have very little chance of making it the right way.

What is going wrong? Why are we failing? If you look back to the recent history, you will see that our Senate and House of Representatives was told that we have to go institutions back in the 1950's and the 1960's. We were told that this custody-clinical model or this clinical model was the way to go. It hasn't worked, it isn't working, and it is not going to work. It deals with the young man on a one-to-one basis. You can't get to a gang kind on one-to-one. You have to go through his group.

You have to understand that they are also behaving for the same reason we behave, to survive, to belong, and to get status. They will change their behavior just like we will, if that is the way they can survive, belong, get status. If you watch a young man move from one turf to another, from one gang to another, he will change to act like they do, just like we are this morning. Look around us and see everyone in back of me with their suits and ties on. Look at our camera people or our students, they dress more casually, all to belong.

These young men are no different, but that custody-clinical model, which put an administration here and then your professional social worker-psychologist-psychiatrist here, and then you had an education department that took them another way, and down in the cottages or units you had some line staff. This social work model was dealing with whether or not the young men was regressed or fixated to his anal phase. Come on, we are going to counsel that young man and when he finds out that he was fixated, he is going to be saved? No. These young men are no different than any other group of adolescents. Understand that.

These young men have great endowment, but this model that we have been using, which had failed in the institutions and then you have been sold a bill of goods, we have to do it in the community. But this same model, this one-to-one casework, this one-to-one psycho-social to the professionals, where we will all spend hundreds of millions for worse results which we see here. You want to waste more money? Do some more of that. There is more than enough money in this field. It is being spent wrong.

There is an organization that is taking today 760 of the toughest gang kids across this nation and putting them in one site. There are Crips there, there are Bloods there, there are Warlords there, but they all belong to one gang there. They belong to that school gang. And when they come in, the upperclassmen let them know that around this school, no one has a right to hurt another person. Around here, the classroom is sacred. Don't you dare mess it up, because we are going to be in your face. Around here, we take pride in our school. And around here, we treat all guests with the utmost dignity and respect.

Those four behavior norms, when a new student comes in, a young man from the Crips or the Bloods, he learns really quickly from the upperclassmen. He has come to a new turf.

The beauty of this school is they have no social workers. The first thing they did was got rid of that model and went on peer group pressure. Once they changed that force field, and working with the gang through the group, over the past few years, they have put over 300 young men in college.

They say these kids are dumb. The average growth in academics, which is documented by an MAT test, in 6 months, their average growth is 2 years, documented. They say they are losers. That is what is pushed on. They are losers. If they could just get to work one day on time. Let us quit treating these kids as though they are walking around with a crutch. They have great ability and great endowment.

The trouble is, they are so darn good that this organization and this school has beaten up on other schools in athletics in Pennsylvania until the athletic departments of the high schools want to throw them out. In the past 3 years, for 2 years they are State champs in basketball, AAAA. In the past 4 years, they are 38–3 in football. They are undefeated in 7 years in track and field. Of course, they get beat in golf and tennis, but what can I tell you? [Laughter.]

The problem is, we are permitting the wrong people to get the money and use the custody-clinical model, that we are going to do one-to-one casework. The problem is that we are giving that money,

we are treating these young men as though they are dumb, they are vandals, and they are going to act like that. The trouble is, we are going one-to-one with them instead of going through their gangs.

In 1928, if you read Thrasher's "The Gang," he will tell you. He told us that you can't get them on one-to-one. You can't pull the kid away from his gang on that one-to-one. It is asinine. Read "The Street Court of Society." It is the same thing.

We have gone wrong in what we are spending. We are spending more than enough. My hope was somewhere between what we are paying today on some professionals, $50,000 to $70,000 a year, I knew that somewhere between $50,000 to $70,000 and $50 to $70 million, we would wake up. And we are saying that the kid is naked.

The name of that school I was talking about is Glen Mills, and you are welcome to visit. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ferraniola follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. SAM FERRANIOLA ON BEHALF OF THE GLEN MILLS SCHOOLS

Good Morning. My name is Sam Ferraniola and I am Executive Director of the Glen Mills Schools in Concordville, PA. Glen Mills represents a dramatically different type of juvenile corrections institution as compared to that which has been in vogue during the past quarter century. Its success suggests that the failure of our juvenile correctional system, contrary to popular opinion, has nothing to do with the taxpayers reluctance to spend increasingly larger sums of money for increasingly poor results. We spend more than enough already. But we spend it on programs which, by the nature of their philosophy, model and staffing, continue to fail both fiscally and programmatically.

As the nation's oldest juvenile correctional facility, Glen Mills, founded in 1826, offers a unique historical perspective on changing philosophies regarding delinquency and its residential treatment programs. The School's history since the 1960's is particularly instructive.

From 1960–1975, Glen Mills adopted the custody-clinical model still prevalent in the U.S. today. The fundamental assumption implicit in the model is that delinquents—including the gang members who are the focus of this hearing—are mad, or bad, or both. Because they are mad (or at least damaged goods, whose psychological development has been impaired by ineffective parenting or childhood trauma), it is deemed necessary to hire professional helpers—social workers, counselors, psychologists—to provide appropriate treatment. Because they are bad, custody concerns are manifest in locks, constant student surveillance and dorm guards to provide "security." All of this has driven up the costs of large correctional programs while creating an inhumane environment.

This model got results, nearly all of them bad. Institutions allowed their populations to be become dominated by the strongest and most manipulative boys while importing the "street" culture that thrives on the intimidation and victimization of weaker peers. In this context, the more enterprising boys run away to avoid harassment, beatings and rape; the others resign themselves to being used or when pressure becomes unendurable, consider suicide.

The prevalent juvenile corrections model, placing its emphasis on counseling and individual psychosocial development, has not addressed itself sufficiently to the issues of developing student's life skills, changing behavior from "street" to prosocial, or protecting weaker students from the strong, "street-smart," gang-oriented students. To the degree that our primary mandates for youth committed to residential facilities are to change student behavior from deviant to prosocial and then to develop the life skills necessary to better sustain the behavior change, our current practices have failed.

A BETTER WAY

Today at Glen Mills, students learn that they cannot solve life's problems if they deny any responsibility for having created them or refuse to be accountable for resolving them. We who shape juvenile corrections would do well to heed the same

lesson. Too often we abdicate our responsibility by blaming nearly everyone except ourselves for the programs' failure: judges, communities, legislators, parents, line staff and the students themselves are among the favorite scapegoats. Our institutions will never succeed unless we accept responsibility for getting results. An important point at Glen Mills was the realization that, like Pogo, "We have met the enemy, and they are us."

State licensing agencies collude in this abdication of responsibility by focusing their attention on staff qualifications and staff-student ratios, rather than the achievement of meaningful results. When parents send their children to school they expect that they will be protected and safe and that they will receive regular report cards indicating progress. Why should any less be expected of correctional administrators, whose program costs make Harvard University's tuition seem like pocket change?

The greatest obstacle to effectiveness is not individual psychopathology but the "street culture" which, if left unchallenged, ensures brutalization of students. Delinquency is not a psychiatric syndrome, but a social fact, much as poverty and divorce are social facts. As Emile Durkheim pointed out, the determining cause of a social fact should be sought in the social facts that preceded it and not in the state of the individual consciousness. For the large majority of delinquents, the most relevant social facts are the negative peer pressures and "street culture" which teach a young man that the route to status is via crime and bullying rather than education and employment.

Like any normal adolescent, the delinquent wants to survive, belong and achieve status with his peers. He behaves accordingly not because he is bad or crazy, but because he wants the same things we all want and strive for, the acceptance and respect of our peer group.

Focusing upon the individual, rather than the peer group culture, institutions leave unaddressed the most fundamental factor in delinquent anti-social behavior and virtually ensure a major incident or blow-up (mass runaways, suicide, vicious assaults). When community or media concerns bring these issues to the attention of the public and the legislators, it most often results in a study that typically recommends that more resources be committed to do more of the same thing which had already failed (hire more counselors, guards, social workers and/or build new secure facilities). Where legislators yield and provide the additional funds, things improve temporarily but eventually another blow-up occurs and the entire cycle repeats itself.

Cost escalation cannot continue indefinitely. Frustration with the failed custody/clinical model has led some states to abandon large institutions as hopelessly bureaucratic, expensive, ineffective and destructive. Glen Mills' experience since 1976 suggests that it is not large institutions, but the custody/clinical model, which should be abandoned.

RESULTS

Several years ago, Glen Mills completed its transition from a reform school using the custody/clinical model. Prior to transition, it was mired in debt, with a demoralized staff. Using a sociological model, students (adjudicated male delinquents) have achieved goals which many believed impossible. Some examples:

More than a thousand students have earned the GED in the past six years. One hundred thirty-three have gone directly from Glen Mills to college and 240 passed the GED exam in the school year 1989–1990. This is a remarkable achievement for young men who typically arrive with a long record of academic failure and on an average, function on the sixth grade level. Yet, in the Glen Mills environment, the same student who was chronically absent or disruptive quickly learns to treat the classroom as sacred. He achieves two months of education progress for each month at Glen Mills, based upon standardized tests of math and verbal skills.

Glen Mills athletic teams have won championships at the local, state and even the national level in competition against some of the finest high school teams in Pennsylvania and the nation. During the 1989–1990 athletic season, they earned League championships in basketball, cross country, track/field, and baseball; County championships in basketball and track/field; State championships in basketball and powerlifting and a National championship in powerlifting.

The Glen Mills program is destroying the myths that delinquents are undisciplined losers, incapable of the sustained efforts, goal orientation, self-confidence and team spirit essential for champions. Glen Mills students rarely have prior team experience as athletes, and most remain in the program for only a single season. Yet they compete successfully against teams from larger public and private schools whole athletes have the benefit of playing together for as long as three or four years.

Glen Mills has monitored its recidivism rate as closely as any institution in the nation. In the 1970's, operating under the custody/clinical model, ninety percent of the Glen Mills students were re-arrested and more than half were re-incarcerated within 27 months after discharge. By 1985 those estimates were reduced to fifty percent and thirty-five percent, respectively. This was accomplished despite a "get tough on crime" trend that featured sharp overall increases in both juvenile and adult incarceration rates over the same period.

The Schools' most remarkable achievement is the creation of a learning environment where mature, respectful behavior is the norm. Glen Mills students are gentlemen. They treat their peers, staff and visitors with respect. They take care of property; vandalism has been virtually eradicated. They are more disciplined, courteous, well groomed and proud than most groups of young men in "regular" schools.

There are few of the tensions which characterize many correctional institutions. Ninety percent of former students say they never felt afraid during their stay at Glen Mills. All this and more has been achieved while reducing the per diem cost of the program by more than 30 percent since 1976.

Glen Mills has elected to systematically mold the peer group culture as the primary strategy for controlling anti-social behaviors while promoting individual growth and responsibility of its student body. Fundamental to this approach are several principles and beliefs regarding delinquency. (1) Glen Mills students are not "bad," they are as deserving of respect and dignity as our children. (2) As a group these students are as psychologically sound as any group of adolescents. (3) Staff and students alike have enormous capacity for growth which will be realized if the institutional culture is both supportive and challenging. (4) Locks and bars are impediments, not aides, to security. (5) Institutions operate most effectively and most economically when enrollment exceeds 200 and programs, facilities and equipment are of top quality. Properly managed, such institutions are uniquely capable of providing the strong positive culture and diversification of programs essential to rehabilitation of delinquents, at modest costs.

These principles, so strongly at odds with the conventional wisdom that prevails in our field, make Glen Mills distinct, and should, at the very least, be considered for study and replication. Indeed, the results achieved at Glen Mills warrant re-examination of our most fundamental beliefs about delinquency and its treatment. For more than a quarter century the values and assumptions of the custody/clinical model have reigned supreme, seldom challenged. It is time to acknowledge that the king is naked.

Thank you.

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much, Mr. Ferraniola.

Gentlemen, we are happy to have you here today.

I would like to ask this question. It is close to being a yes or no, but if you would like to expand on it, you are welcome. Do we have a responsibility to our fellow citizens at your level, at our level, to see to it that they live in relative safety and peace? Is that a basic responsibility that people in public life, in your life, have a responsibility to those whom we serve?

Mr. FRIER. It is certainly a basic responsibility of American law enforcement to provide communities that ability to live in the manner you described.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Nichols?

Mr. NICHOLS. It is not only a responsibility of law enforcement, but it is a responsibility of the entire judiciary system and our great Congress and the President of the United States to see that everybody that is a citizen of this country can live safely, that they can send their child to a school, to a learning institution, a grade school in an inner city, and he doesn't have to worry about being beaten up and having to join a gang, that he doesn't have to worry about when he walks home at night that he is going to be shot because he didn't joint a gang.

Senator KOHL. Isn't it pretty clear that the American people feel that we are not discharging that responsibility, that basic responsibility, today? Mr. Ferraniola?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. The legislators, not only here in Washington but throughout the United States, have been very gracious and generous in putting out resources to the so-called professionals that deal with this. You have been too generous. Every time it blows up, the bureaucracy does a study and they come to you and your constituents tell you how bad it is and you go to their welfare and you pay for a study and then they say, give me more money to do some more of what we have been doing that doesn't work. You have been very generous.

My hope is that we are going to take a close look at what we have been doing and what hasn't worked, and I hear that today. Let us redirect that money to those working with gangs and those facilities that use peer-group pressure that have a low cost, such as Glen Mills, again.

Senator KOHL. We will be talking about that, but do I hear you, Mr. Nichols, saying that in terms of just plain flat-out hard law enforcement, seeing to it that we get hold of these people who are committing these crimes and incarcerating them, we are not doing a good enough job? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. NICHOLS. Absolutely, sir. I am not getting any cooperation from the higher level.

Senator KOHL. And you are a longtime veteran in St. Louis?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes sir.

Senator KOHL. You believe that you clearly understand, not only in St. Louis, but if other cities are comparable, you understand what the situation is out there on the street and you understand, in your opinion, what needs to be done?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes sir, I do.

Senator KOHL. Do I hear you saying that what we need to do is to see to it that we more clearly, more effectively, more quickly, more decisively, bring more people into the justice system, and to the extent that they are guilty, convict them and lock them up?

Mr. NICHOLS. I believe in the case of the hard-core offenders, those are the ones who are running our gangs out here on the street. They are the ones that are actually doing the influence. They are influencing our youth. It is just like cancer. You wouldn't go to a doctor and the doctor would tell you, you have a little bit of cancer, and then walk out and not have something about it.

The same thing happens with the hard-core offenders who are my shot callers in my gangs, my leaders, my enforcers, my gunmen, and who are my mules, the guys that run around and go pick up the dope. This is the adhesive portion of each gang. These offenders need to go to the penitentiary.

Senator KOHL. So we have now perhaps a million people, I am not sure, a million people behind bars in this country. In your opinion, to get to where we need to be, which is to provide safe streets for our population, we need to expand that million beyond in order to really provide that safety to our citizens, is that what you are saying?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes sir, I believe so.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Frier, do you have a comment on that?

Mr. FRIER. No, I agree with Sgt. Nichols. I think he covered all the points.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Ferraniola?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. We have to develop those life skills, those vocational skills, and those academic skills so when the young man becomes 19 or 20, he has a skill and an opportunity to get a job with a decent pay.

Senator KOHL. What is happening, for the most part, when these people who we do have behind bars get there? Are we doing what we need to do when they are there to prepare them to come back out and be decent law abiding citizens so that they just don't become part of the problem all over again, which, as you know, is happening so often? What are we doing with these young people or adults who we are incarcerating? What is happening today?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. The problem, Senator, is that that street culture takes over in the cottages, the dorms, or the jail. It is a vicious culture, because our professionals aren't dealing with that. That prevents the learning in the classrooms. It becomes disruptive.

Until we can deal with the institutions where there is safety for all the young men—and I am speaking of the juvenile corrections now—until we can get that under control, then we can have our classrooms where young people can learn. But until we change that existing model and get that control of that culture and have the culture in the classrooms where education can take place, then we are not going to change this problem.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Nichols, you say we need much more effective law enforcement, and I believe you are right. But when we get these people incarcerated, are we doing what we need to do?

Mr. NICHOLS. No sir, we are not. I would like to go back to where it all stems from—a juvenile system. We have a juvenile system in the United States right now that is obsolete. Somewhere along the line, juveniles must be held responsible for their actions at a specific age.

I have a particular case. I can't mention his name because he is protected by State law, but his initials are T.M. He is a 15-year-old member of a gang. He had been referred to the juvenile division, in their custody, 24 times before anything was ever done. And on the 25th time, he was certified to stand trial as an adult for the sale of crack cocaine.

It was then taken to the circuit attorney, and the circuit attorney, which is the prosecutor, refused to issue the warrant, stating that it was his first offense. He then went back out on the street and did it all over again and got recertified a second time, and again, there was no warrant issued.

In the City of St. Louis juvenile court, we have on the doors "referee." What in God's name is the name "referee" doing in a juvenile court, where the child has to go through the door and be adjudicated? It is telling him it is like going to a basketball game. They must be held accountable and responsible. They also must get help at that early age.

However, when they come and they become an adult, and if they haven't corrected their ways yet, maybe society is failing itself. Maybe we need to do more with these people. However, when they become violent offenders, when they become the shooters out here and they take lives and they ruin people's lives, they must be held responsible for those actions.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Frier, do you have a comment?

Mr. FRIER. Yes. Federal law enforcement is nowhere near as well equipped to deal with the kinds of problems you are hearing today as is State and local law enforcement. Our laws do not permit us to become involved at the early instances of criminal problems that the youthful offenders are often finding themselves involved in.

However, Federal law enforcement brings many tools, I think, to the overall problem of addressing violent crimes, and we have the ability to augment and bring a valuable product with our investigative sanctions, our investigative expertise, and our investigative experience into this arena.

Unfortunately, we are resource strapped and we don't have sufficient special agents, we don't have sufficient Assistant U.S. Attorneys to adequately address those problems that we have identified here today that definitely need the criminal justice system to address them.

Senator KOHL. Before I turn this over to Senator Cohen, I would just ask one last question. Is it true with the juvenile delinquent population, as it is with the adult population, it is a relatively very small group who are committing most of the crimes? Is that a fact, Mr. Nichols?

Mr. NICHOLS. I would believe so, sir. Yes sir, I would.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Frier, is that a fact?

Mr. FRIER. I think so.

Senator KOHL. There are 400,000 gang members in this country. They are not all equally a problem, is that a fair statement?

Mr. FRIER. No sir, there are definite leaders and a whole lot of followers.

Mr. NICHOLS. The numbers that I presented, approximately 1,400 gang members in the metropolitan area, most of those are all hard-core members. I didn't mention the peripherals that were on the outside. The peripherals are here today with the gang. Then they may not run with the gang for a couple of weeks. A lot of them join the gangs, and they don't really join the gangs, they hang with them, because their buddy goes to high school and they want to be with their buddy. But they are right on the fringe of that gang. They are there if anything goes down.

The ones I would like to see targeted are the hard-core gang members. The average age of a gang member in the City of St. Louis right now is 19 years and 10 months. That is our average age of a gang member in the City of St. Louis.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Ferraniola, should we lock these hard-core offenders up or can we turn them around? What would you do with them, Mr. Ferraniola?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Dr. Wolfgang of the University of Pennsylvania several years ago did a research that stated, if I can recall correctly, seven percent of the adjudicated delinquent young men are committing 80 percent of the violent crimes, something on that order.

So I think you are right on target. There is a small group that is causing the most violent crimes. I think it is going to expand, however, unless we do something about that and do it quickly.

If you want to deal with prisons, that is your decision. Our school is taking them as violent kids, the assaultive kids, the drive-by

shooters, very aggressive young men and we are getting good results.

But I concur that we need a variety of deterrents. No one has the right to hurt another person. I don't think we can continue to let anybody justify that.

Senator KOHL. Very good. Thank you very much.

Senator Cohen?

Senator COHEN. Mr. Frier, you indicated that at the Federal level resources are lacking. What is your opinion about the crime bill that was just passed? Senator Hatch talked about it earlier, about federalizing gang-related crimes and then prosecuting them at the Federal level.

Mr. FRIER. I don't think we lack prosecutive or investigative tools at present. As far as the Federal Government goes, Federal law enforcement goes, we have very powerful tools with which we can currently use. Naturally, any additional ones that are available to us, we would utilize, because it is the Federal law enforcement mission to focus on gang activities, such as they are, being from an organized criminal enterprise standpoint.

We are about to utilize the tools we have with RICO, with ITAR, with continuing criminal enterprises, and also the Hobbs Act very effectively to accomplish this end.

Senator COHEN. So you think that it would not put an undue burden on the FBI if we provided Federal penalties for what used to be State or local crimes?

Mr. FRIER. The FBI has seen the violations for which we are responsible double within the past 10 years without a realistic increase in the size of investigative personnel. We can do a very good job in certain areas, provided we have investigators to address those problems.

Senator COHEN. That is what I have been asking you. Are we up here pounding our chests saying, "we are going to get tougher on crime?" There seems to be a contest between our parties as to who can be tougher on crime. We can pass legislation to make more and more criminal activity Federal in nature, but if that legislation isn't going to be matched with the dollars to either carry out the investigations with prosecutors to prosecute the cases, with institutions in which to house them, or with programs with which to treat them, it is really mere posturing on our part. Are we going to continue to see the statistics on crime go up and up without any kind of relief?

Mr. FRIER. That is my opinion, Senator, yes.

Mr. FERRANIOLA. The Federal Government is really not into, in any heavy way, the juvenile issues. Your Federal Bureau of Prisons, I do not believe, have a facility for young people under 18. In fact, in the rare instance that a young man under 18 gets caught into the Federal Bureau of Prisons, such as holding up banks over and over again in New York City, and the State has not taken appropriate action and the young man, two or three times he is picked up for holding up banks, then the Federal Government would move in. The Federal Bureau of Prisons will send him to me.

But the Federal Government isn't really into the juvenile crime issue as residential facilities. They punt.

Senator COHEN. It has been suggested that a swift and severe punishment might discourage some young juveniles from joining gangs.

Rev. Jesse Jackson on a number of occasions has pointed out that for many of the people who might be engaged in this criminal activity, prison incarceration is not a step down, it is a step up. So even if we were to have swift and sure punishment, it wouldn't necessarily mean that it would be an effective deterrent.

Mr. Frier, do you care to comment on that? Many young men come from broken homes, live in poverty, have an abusive parent, have alcohol in the home, or have drugs available. They need protection, they need love, they need respect and admiration.

Would the threat of swift and sure punishment be a deterrent to those who have to fend for themselves on the streets? Mr. Frier first, then we will get to you, Mr. Ferraniola.

Mr. FRIER. That is a difficult question for me. I know that we all have a responsibility of interaction within the community, not only to address what causes criminal activity by young offenders and by gang members, but also showing methods and practices by which community members can come together to prevent this from happening.

Whether or not tougher sanctions to youthful offenders stops their activity, I don't really know.

Senator COHEN. Is it a badge of honor or a badge of shame? Some may see this as, "I am doing my time. I am one of the tougher ones now. I am going in and I am getting my stripes."

Mr. Ferraniola, the question I had about this Glen Mills School is how does one get into your school?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. You have to be lucky. You have to have committed a delinquent act, be between the ages of 15 and 18, be a gang-type kid, a tough gang-type kid, be referred to us by the State courts, and if we have a bed, we will accept that young man.

We are not a panacea. We are specialist-type for violent gang kids between the age of 15 and 18—not young kids, not severely emotionally disturbed kids. I don't know how to handle them. And girls, they are too tough. They are. They will stand up against everyone. They are not as receptive to peer group pressure as boys are, I believe that. I could be wrong. So I have only worked with young men. I am not an expert in any other area.

Senator COHEN. Although I am interested in your school as a potential model, I would like to know what can be done before they get to your school. In other words, what needs to be done before someone becomes a part of a gang. You have talked about how you can take the intelligence and the athletic ability, to help break the cycle of sociopathic behavior, but what needs to be done before they ever get to your school? This is what we really have to focus on—as well as putting people away who pose a threat to other members of society.

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Yes. I would hope that among your experts here are some individuals that work out in the street with gangs, work with them.

I ran a research back in the 1960's in tough areas of Pittsburgh, and I got an office in the community and we had group meetings and we set up athletic teams. I became a part of that. We had

great success, as the research showed, in reducing the incidence of delinquency in those areas. You have to get to that kid. If you could put in leagues, kids' athletics leagues, more community gang work, dealing with the schools to learn how to create that environment where education can better take place, I think that is the way—not one-to-one, not with a gang kit.

Senator COHEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KOHL. I want to just get clear, Mr. Ferraniola, that you run the Glen Mills School?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Yes.

Senator KOHL. How long have you been running it?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Eighteen years.

Senator KOHL. And you deal with what we call relatively hard-core juvenile delinquents, males?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Yes.

Senator KOHL. What is your track record?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. We have had research done by Integra, and I guess you are most concerned with our reapprehension/reincarceration rate.

Senator KOHL. Yes.

Mr. FERRANIOLA. The best year we had was 1985, when 34 percent of the young men who came to our school—I mean, if they came for one day and left, they were still in the sample, this was real valid research—34 percent were reincarcerated within 2½ years. It was 85 percent, by the way, that were reincarcerated when I got there in 1975, and we got down to 34 percent.

But in 1986 and 1987, it started going up again. I know our school got better. I know our vocational programs were better. I know my academic programs were better. The last report we had is the young men who left in 1987, and we were now back up to 39 percent of our kids were reincarcerated within 2½ years. Is it the employment market? Is it crack that was being sold more? Or were we getting worse?

Senator KOHL. What is the average stay?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Fourteen months. I won't take a young man on 3 months. I just couldn't do it. I truly believe that these young men have to develop life skills, and why would I take a young man for 3 months and give him back? I won't. In fact, I have some States that won't send me young men because I want them a minimum of 12 and I want them now for 14 months. We can give them a vocational skill, and they can grow more than 2 to 3 years. Last year, we got 270 young men through the GED.

Senator KOHL. So your rate for reincarceration is somewhere between 35 and 40 percent?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Thirty-five and 40 percent.

Senator KOHL. Is there a national rate that we use?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. I have read all kinds. They can be skewed. Some say that it is only the ones that finish their program. Some play like Vision Quest, claim that 95 percent didn't get in trouble until "60 Minutes" did a study and took the first 100 young men that went through their program from San Diego and saw 92 of the first 100 were reincarcerated within a year. They are ridiculous, a lot of the facts that you see. They are skewed. But ours is valid.

You can check with Integra. I don't pay for them, my board does, and I didn't want to prove anything, I wanted to learn something.

Senator COHEN. Are yours the kind of hard-core leaders we have been talking about?

Mr. FERRANIOLA. They are the greatest. The hard-core gang leader, he has so much ability. He has so much potential. And here is Glen Mills, destroying the myths of this nation that is destroying hundreds of thousands of kids on the street. We are destroying the myths that they are dumb.

Senator KOHL. I think we are close to being finished. You are saying, I think we are all saying, that we need to incarcerate these people more effectively, but you are saying, and do we agree, when they are incarcerated, if we don't do a job in trying to rehabilitate them, then we are accomplishing very little. Is there common agreement on that?

Mr. NICHOLS. I would agree with that. However, I do also agree that there are certain people out here that can't be helped. They don't want to be helped. Some people become institutionalized and they can't survive outside the institution. They don't know how to obey laws or be correct.

Senator KOHL. I am sure you are right.

Thank you very much, gentlemen. It has been a good panel. I appreciate it.

Mr. FRIER. Thank you.

Mr. NICHOLS. Thank you.

Mr. FERRANIOLA. Thank you.

Senator KOHL. Our second panel consists of four accomplished individuals. All of them started working with gang members and dealing with the gang problem years before the subject became surfaced in our public consciousness. We all recognize that law enforcement and corrections efforts are a very important part of the solution, but as we just found out, they cannot solve the gang problem all by themselves. The question is, how do we turn our young people away from the world of gangs and violence in the first place and our last panel will address this.

Jim Brown needs no introduction to anyone. Many Americans know him well for his legendary accomplishments on the football field and in his acting career, but Mr. Brown is here because he has achieved prominence in another arena. Mr. Brown is President and founder of Amer–I–Can, a highly-regarded program which teaches responsibility and life skills to gang members and prison inmates.

We also have with us today Gary Graika. Mr. Graika directs the Milwaukee Youth Diversion Program, a gang intervention program in Milwaukee, WI. Mr. Graika has worked for many years with the Latino gang population in Milwaukee and he is recognized in Wisconsin as a leading authority on gangs.

Jim Galipeau is a Deputy Probation Officer in Los Angeles, CA. He has achieved prominence working with gangs in South Central Los Angeles for much of his adult life, and so we welcome his perspective here today.

And finally, we are pleased that Professor Irving Spergel of the University of Chicago is able to join us here today. Professor Spergel is one of the nation's leading experts on gangs and gang

intervention efforts. He consults regularly with police departments, and he is out on the streets practicing what he preaches, working with the police, youth agencies, and gang members.

We welcome you here today, gentlemen. If you would keep your opening statement to 5 minutes, we will introduce your full statement to the record.

We start with you, Mr. Brown.

PANEL CONSISTING OF JIM BROWN, PRESIDENT, AMER-I-CAN PROGRAM, INC., LOS ANGELES, CA, ACCOMPANIED BY COLONEL DEAN L. RENFROW, SUPPORT SERVICES BUREAU COMMANDER, OREGON STATE POLICE; GARY GRAIKA, MILWAUKEE YOUTH DIVERSION PROGRAM, MILWAUKEE, WI; JIM GALIPEAU, DEPUTY PROBATION OFFICER, LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CA; AND PROFESSOR IRVING SPERGEL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, IL

STATEMENT OF JIM BROWN

Mr. BROWN. Thank you very much, Senator Kohl and Senator Cohen. I am very happy to be here to testify in front of the committee. My written testimony, I think you have and will be a part of the record, so I won't go into the accomplishments of the Amer-I-Can Program.

What I would like to do is, first of all, allude to my good friend over here, Probation Officer Galipeau, who is one of the most dedicated workers in this country. He has been very effective in working with gangs in Los Angeles. I am very happy to see that the committee invited him here.

I would also like to say that Senator Campbell was very effective in his approach to Colorado. I would like to say to this committee that I have done a lot of work in Colorado. I know Coors Golden Door very well. They hire ex-convicts and have been very successful.

Rev. Kelly, I know. Easy Money has been to my home twice and has studied our program, our life management skills program. He is now a part of a reconstruction organization in Denver that is doing a tremendous job. The four top gang leaders there are now working very hard to change their lives. Also, in the last 3 weeks, we have met with almost all of the powers-to-be in Denver.

I just wanted to demonstrate that those of us who work in the area of gangs seem to cross paths very often.

If it is with your permission, I would like to have a colleague of mine, Lieutenant Colonel Dean Renfrow from the State of Oregon, who has worked with the governor there to create what I consider the greatest pilot of gang intervention and enforcement in this country, join me. If you would give me permission, could I defer my time and let him address this body?

Senator KOHL. Certainly. Would you like to have him join us up here?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, I would like to have him take my seat.

Incidentally, the reason I am doing this is because the Amer-I-Can Program realizes that we can only play a small role in the solution, and we believe in partnership and coalition, and that will be the theme of my representation as long as I am in this work.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Brown follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JIM BROWN ON BEHALF THE AMER-I-CAN PROGRAM, INC.

Chairman Kohl and committee members, my name is Jim Brown. Although I am well known as a former professional football player and movie actor, I am most proud of the capacity in which I speak before you today—as founder and President of the Amer-I-Can Program. I am honored to present testimony before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee Juvenile Justice Subcommittee on the topic of what the federal government should be doing to reach out to gang members and other youth at risk to provide them alternatives, opportunities, and support.

My experience has been that prisons and youth authorities alone have not been and cannot be entirely effective methods of dealing with the problems of gangs and youth violence. These problems are rooted in the general decline of our civilization: failure of our educational system, rise in adult criminality, drug abuse, family breakdown, racism, political corruption, unemployment and underemployment, unaffordable housing, sense of hopelessness, and so on. It is logistically and financially impossible to build enough prisons to hold all those who will continue to be trapped in cycles of criminality and punishment.

The United States already has the highest incarceration rate in the world. Moreover, it is well known that one fourth of the black men in the 20–29 year old age group are already in the criminal justice system, with devastating impact on the black community and black family. How ironic that the cost of each prison cell used to punish and warehouse these young men could finance Harvard's tuition. Since prison or juvenile detention is only imposed after criminal activity has taken place, they can not deal with prevention of criminal behavior before it occurs.

In light of these considerations, Amer-I-Can offers a solution. Not only is the Program effective in dealing with behavior that leads to criminal activity, it is effective in offering a positive alternative to individuals that have already become involved in criminal activity. Amer-I-Can is an 80 hour life-management skills training curriculum which enhances the ability of the individual to become a more productive member of society. It has been developed after consultations with technical experts, behavioral scientists, human resource professionals, psychologists, educators, ministers, former addicts, convicts, and gang members. Amer-I-Can's philosophy is an outgrowth of current and past rehabilitation/community services programs that I have administered, including the Vital Issues Project, Coors Golden Door, and Jobs Plus. It is also a part of my long term interest in the economic development and collective empowerment of individuals and communities at large, which manifested itself as early as 1968. The Black Economic Union, a non-profit corporation which I founded, promoted economic empowerment of minorities.

The beauty of the Amer-I-Can Program is its universal applicability—it transcends race, age, gender, religion and socio-economic status. The Program allows all who participate to grow to their potential in terms of enjoying a more motivated and positive life-style. The mindset of the trainee is altered from one of self-doubt to self-determination to achieve positive goals. A person must honestly examine the "why's" and "wherefores" of past behavioral patterns that have negatively affected his or her life. Once this understanding has been firmly established, that person will be able to change his or her thinking from "I-Can't," to "I-Can" accept the responsibility of determining the direction of my own life.

By enlarging the scope of individual lives; by introducing self-determination techniques; by motivating people to have goals; by showing them how to improve and to achieve success and financial stability, Amer-I-Can has literally and figuratively saved lives which would have been lost. As an example, two graduates of the Program, ex-gang members lacking high school educations, were the architect and the author of a truce between the Bloods and the Crip sets in four housing projects in the Watts area of Los Angeles. This truce will soon celebrate its second anniversary, and has been directly responsible for a reduction of intergang violence in this area. There are few international truces of such duration. The truce agreement, which was based on the 1948 Arab–Israeli peace accords, is the subject of a scholarly law review article currently being written by Professor Adrien Wing of the University of Iowa College of Law. Professor Wing has accompanied me here today and is prepared to address any questions you may have about her research. The truce agreement is also being revised for possible use by other gangs across the nation. The two remarkable young men responsible for this agreement, are not only alumni of our Program, but are currently employed as full time facilitators teaching other participants.

The Amer-I-Can Program is designed to assist in the development of personal skills in eight critical areas. These eight program components constitute the core

subject matter of the program. Combined with the effective methodology, the training techniques employed by the Amer–I–Can Program are the catalysts which solidify participants' efforts to develop themselves and successfully manage their lives. These eight components are as follows:

1. Motivation, habits, attitudes & conditioning

By helping each participant to identify his or her potential and maintain a high level of motivation, the program opens the door for continuous striving toward success. Habits, attitudes and conditioning processes are restructured by participants to enable themselves to seize opportunities and capitalize on potential, moving them from an attitude of self-doubt to self-determination.

2. Goal setting

People tend to look at obstacles and create negative attitudes because they do not understand alternative goal-setting processes. In the Program, a goal is examined within a peer group to determine if that goal has the essential components required for true goal attainment. Is it realistic, worthwhile, obtainable, measurable and timely?

3. Problem solving & decision making

It is strange that we have all gone through untold years of formal education and have never once been academically confronted with the basic problem solving processes. The Amer–I–Can program's graphic tools of problem solving techniques assist students in applying practical solutions to everyday problems.

4. Emotional control

People who are unable to keep emotional problems from interfering with work or other social environments experience repeated difficulties which often lead to less than desirable conclusions. By understanding emotional stress and pressures, participants cultivate the ability to put stress and pressure in control, thereby becoming functional and productive under any circumstance.

5. Family relationships

Strong family relationships tend to drive a person to achievement. The Amer–I–Can Program's family components are designed to achieve a greater understanding of family member roles and responsibilities and provide practical guidelines for bringing the family together as a positive, cohesive, supportive life force.

6. Financial stability

Financial stability is determined by a person's earning and spending habits. Learning sound money management and budgeting practices is vital for everyone of all socio-economic levels and is a clear exhibition of maturity and self-responsibility. It is a critical component in the achievement of individual self-determination.

7. Effective communication

Expressing oneself and communicating can be two entirely different matters. Understanding how one's expressions inhibit dialogue between people is key to effective communication. Many participants are initially introverted, but evolve as communicative, freely expressive persons.

8. Employment search & retention

Guidelines are provided to assist participants in career exploration, job search, interviewing, resume preparation, and other critical areas of punctuality, conflict resolution, productivity and progression.

TRAINING METHODOLOGY

The Amer–I–Can Program's training methodology for its participants operates within the structure of peer group relationships. The training methodology is as follows:

1. Dual sensory perception

Audio and visual aides are used to teach lessons and to best assist those participants who have reading disabilities or learning impairments. Lessons run from 20 to 30 minutes, and controlled discussion follows.

2. Controlled group discussion

A "group-teaching" methodology, guided by facilitators whereby peer group comment and response as related to the material, is encouraged. Each participant is allotted approximately three minutes to comment without interruption. At the conclusion of their comments, the next person seated at the table comments for three min-

utes about the lessons or the previous participant's comments, without interruptions or reprisal.

3. Space repetition

Each lesson is presented a maximum of 3 times, to ensure participant comprehension and maximum retention.

Distribution of *Daily Motivation Cards*, index cards bearing a message of the day taken from the Program manual, reinforces the process. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the Program, each participant graduates in a ceremony and is presented with a *Certificate of Completion*, serving as a reminder that he or she has been equipped with the tools to successfully manage their lives and that they have permanently bonded with The Amer-I-Can Program Family.

SERVICE OPTIONS

Due to the comprehensive nature of The Amer-I-Can Program training can be employed as a singular training model or as a supportive service to any existing program, whether it be in a correctional facility, school, or community organization. The training is ideal for slow learners, underachievers, dropouts at the junior and senior high school levels, remedial education participants, W.I.N., J.T.P.A., welfare recipients, other manpower or human resource development enrollees, participants in correctional institutions, probationers and parolees, alcoholics, drug addicts, tenants in subsidized housing, persons in family crisis situations, and special programs for the handicapped. In addition, the training is applicable as an adjunct to agency personnel staff management training programs and as a general purpose Program for business and industry. In both San Diego and Oregon, law enforcement officials have learned the curriculum, and noted its positive results in their own life skills development. The State of Oregon has produced a film that highlights the successful use of Amer-I-Can with state troopers and police, all facilitated by the same ex-gang members who train current gang members in the techniques as well.

COSTS

To facilitate the implementation and administration of The Amer-I-Can Program, it is our experience that a fixed-price contract based on materials, supplies, and services charges represents the most appropriate method.

There is a per capita cost for training per student, with a minimum of twenty participants per unit. Total cost per unit includes all equipment, supplies and materials as well as the required administrative overhead to provide training in accordance with the standards described herein.

AMER-I-CAN FOUNDATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

In addition to the regular Amer-I-Can program, there is also the Amer-I-Can Foundation for Social Change. This non-profit 501(C) 3 arm of the Amer-I-Can Program seeks corporate, foundation, and individual sponsorship of the Amer-I-Can Program for inner-city youth with an emphasis on highly impacted Los Angeles public high schools and neighborhoods.

The "Posses" or positive peer-groups from five neighborhoods exist to engage troubled youth in constructive activities while instilling the principles of the Amer-I-Can Program curriculum.

"Streetlights" is a job placement component that places former gang members and ex-convicts in production assistant jobs for television commercials. Approximately 35 Amer-I-Can graduates have found steady, profitable employment through Streetlights.

The Women's Program targets inner-city women from Los Angeles housing projects and group homes for training in life-skills, etiquette, money management and parenting.

EXPANSION

The success of Amer-I-Can is also shown in its expansion over the past few years. We currently operate in eight states including California, Oregon, Illinois, Ohio, New York, Louisiana, Florida, and Colorado. The success in these states has been outstanding in terms of the Program's wide recognition by community organizations and institutions.

This list may be expanded to include cities throughout the State of Iowa as early as Spring 1994. Through the auspices of the Iowa Peace Institute, state government agencies, educators, correctional institutions, business and community service groups are currently meeting with the coordinating organization for our Oregon pro-

gram, the State Police, to determine how the Program could be introduced in a systematic statewide fashion in Iowa as well.

A summary of our current operations follows:

California: Since 1988, Amer–I–Can's contract with the Department of Corrections has resulted in the successful training of over 14,000 inmates in 15 state prisons.

In San Francisco, The Amer–I–Can Program is incorporated as an accredited class at the Woodrow Wilson High School. Amer–I–Can community classes were being taught in the Geneva Towers and Sunnydale housing projects, sponsored by San Francisco H.U.D.

A contract with the Los Angeles County Department of Probation resulted in over 150 adult and juvenile probationers graduating from the course, many getting jobs.

We are about to commence a program with the Los Angeles Sheriff Department to introduce classes in the Peter Pitches' Honor camp.

Throughout South Central Los Angeles, Amer–I–Can is creating businesses, employing men and women, and teaching classes. The Playground I and II are sporting goods retail stores that currently employ and give stock ownership to former gang members and ex-convicts from the community in legitimate businesses.

Amer–I–Can is also involved with the *Amer–I–Car Security Team.* Over 75 Amer–I–Can graduates have been trained in security techniques and employed as security guards since the inception of the Team. Clients include Marcus Garvey High School, Planet Recycling, Westport Development Construction Corporation, Magic Johnson, Senator Diane Watson, & Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition.

In San Diego, 30 law enforcement officers from local, state and federal agencies were trained in the techniques of The Amer–I–Can Program.

Oregon: For the second year, Amer–I–Can is training 600 inmates, 80 police officers, and 3000 young gang members and at- risk youth in Portland, Salem and surrounding cities. The Amer–I–Can curriculum has been incorporated as an accredited class in several high schools. A demonstration grant from Oregon H.U.D. will enable Amer–I–Can to provide transitional housing for parolees.

Accompanying this testimony is testimony about the Oregon program prepared by Lt. Col. Dean Renfrow of the Oregon State Police, the coordinating agency. Colonel Renfrow has accompanied me here today and is prepared to answer any questions you may have about the effectiveness of our efforts in his state.

Ohio: A contract with the Ohio Department of Corrections resulted in successfully training 65 first-time offenders in the Amer–I–Can curriculum at 2 halfway houses. In Cleveland, Amer–I–Can operates in the inner-city neighborhoods, promoting peace and creating jobs. The Cleveland Browns have lent generous support to Amer–I–Can. We are also about to start operations in Cayahoga Boys School.

New York: Amer–I–Can classes in the Edgecombe Correctional Facility in Harlem, New York, began in July 1993. 210 inmates arel going through the Amer–I–Can training, many of whom are on work-furlough in the state-of-the-art Edgecombe program.

Illinois: A joint project with H.U.D. and the Chicago Housing Authority began this past fall to train inner-city Chicago residents, particularly gang-involved and at-risk youth, in The Amer–I–Can Program.

Colorado: Amer–I–Can has trained 25 gang and ex-gang leaders throughout the state.

Florida: We have trained 25 staff members of Operation Street, a nonprofit organization in Jacksonville. These staff members will serve as facilitators of the curriculum in local public schools.

Louisiana is developing a unique pilot involving a single class consisting of law enforcement officers, gang members and prisoners. Los Angeles based facilitators will lead the group while simultaneously teaching two local trainees in facilitation techniques.

Furthermore, The Amer–I–Can Program is involved in a joint venture with the nationally known *Hooked On Phonics* program to offer literacy and self-esteem skills. This joint venture will open a store in Inglewood, California to market educational materials. Furthermore, the joint program will be implemented in Inglewood Public Schools to help the youth between ages 5 to 8. Hooked on Phonics will also be available to all Amer–I–Can trainees who have literacy problems.

I would be happy to provide copies of our brochure and curriculum to members of this committee and others who might be interested.

The federal government should seriously consider direct, substantial and sustained funding of intervention programs such as Amer–I–Can. There are several possibilities. First, the government itself could design programs and operate them itself. The problem with this approach is that it creates yet another kind of government bureaucracy, somewhat removed from the situation of the streets, and with

no proven track record. Top heavy administration could result in too much employment for already privileged elite experts, and too little for the ex-gang members and others, who desperately need the chance to utilize their newly taught skills to benefit others coming from the same conditions.

The preferable approach is to expand vastly upon the current government notion of providing grants to state and local organizations who desire to fund local initiatives. The Oregon Amer–I–Can Program is currently funded via a federal grant to the Oregon State Police.

Another preferable option is to directly fund gang intervention groups in the communities in which they operate. These groups, including Amer–I–Can, are fully familiar with the conditions and lifestyles of the streets. They have already garnered the credibility necessary to deal with youth at risk and gang members.

In conclusion, we are all familiar with the youth violence problem confronting American society at the end of the twentieth century. It is incumbent upon all of us in partnership—federal, state, and local government, private business and community institutions, to commit ourselves today to working for the solutions. Amer–I–Can intends to continue to be part of those solutions. The federal government can and must provide a beacon of light and hope. Our youth, our families, our nation can no longer afford to wait.

I am now prepared to answer any questions from members of the Subcommittee. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Senator KOHL. Very good.

Yes sir?

STATEMENT OF COLONEL DEAN L. RENFROW

Mr. RENFROW. Thank you, Senator Kohl and Senator Cohen. I will just take a few moments to explain the program in OR.

In 1988, gangs began to emerge in the City of Portland, OR, mostly migrating from the State of California, the Los Angeles area. They based their operations primarily around drug trafficking in Portland and we aggressively established a State youth gang strike force at that time to deal with it. I think there were 16 members of Federal, State, and local agencies involved. Very aggressively, we pursued Federal prosecution through the armed career criminal prosecutions, various State prosecutions of individuals, and literally drove the California gangsters in Oregon back to California.

What had happened, though, in the 5 years of aggressive law enforcement effort, we realized that although we were incarcerating a large number of individuals, gang documentation continued to rise, as did violent crime associated with gang activity. It became obvious to us that there were other approaches in addition to a strong enforcement effort that were very, very critical if we were really going to get a handle on the situation.

One of the big problems we realized is that there was a lack of networking, not only among law enforcement agencies but among other disciplines as well, those disciplines involving the intervention and prevention methodologies. It became very important that we network those things together, those concepts, those individuals in team approaches to address the problem.

What had happened was we were successful, then, in obtaining a Bureau of Justice assistance grant to establish a three-pronged approach in Oregon. What we did was the first approach was to establish an intelligence gang information network among law enforcement agencies, not just in the metropolitan area but in the State-wide region, because in just a few years, we realized that gangs were not only centered in Portland, but now they were

emerging in 18 counties throughout Oregon, becoming a very real rural problem as well as a metropolitan problem.

But law enforcement really weren't connected State-wide. They had no way of knowing what was happening in each other's communities. So we established a gang resource intelligence database that allows officers to communicate. We know what is happening State-wide. Along with that came funding to purchase equipment and overtime dedicated towards gang prevention and intervention.

The second piece came into place, the Amer–I–Can Program. We realized that you can't expect to solve a gang problem without utilization of gang members. Gang members can be incarcerated, but they do have a tremendous effect on what is happening in the communities, because as the leaders are incarcerated, they still control what is happening on the outside.

There was no really effective, in our opinion, way to get to those individuals, utilizing individuals like myself or department of corrections personnel. We met Mr. Brown and the Amer–I–Can Program. They utilize former gang members, ex-inmates to facilitate their program. They are well known in the correctional facilities throughout the country. We brought them into several State correctional facilities in Oregon. They were immediately identified by the inmates. They established a program of training over 600 inmates there, transforming their life, utilizing life management skills in an 80 to 90 hour curriculum.

The third piece was to establish a network utilizing intervention and prevention methods. We realized that if we have a 16-year-old female that has a young child that is a gang affected individual, if we place her in the Amer–I–Can Program, provide self-management skills, provide her with a job, but we don't tend to the other needs such as transportation, day care, housing, maybe mental health needs or drug and alcohol problems, then we are only addressing a very minor part and not holistically approaching the individual's problems and we are probably going to see her again going through the system. So we established through BJA funding a State agency resource directory involving 14 State agencies that provide those key services to individuals.

Now utilizing all of these concepts together, through training of the various disciplines, when you come into contact with an individual, based on that individual's profile, you look beyond your own discipline into the other needs for the individual. You establish contact with those service areas through a computerized network of resources, place those resources in contact with the individual, so that you really give them a chance to succeed. That is the program in Oregon.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Renfrow follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF COLONEL DEAN L. RENFROW ON BEHALF OF THE OREGON STATE POLICE

Chairman Kohl and committee members, I am Colonel Dean L. Renfrow, Oregon State Police, Support Services Bureau Commander.

I am here to offer testimony on the Oregon State Police Gang Intervention Program which receives federal funding through the Bureau of Justice Assistance. Our Gang Intervention Program is extremely unique as it utilizes a multi-disciplinary approach involving enforcement, intervention and prevention methodologies to address those involved in gangs or at risk of gang involvement.

Although Oregon is a relatively small state with a population of only three million, its citizens have repeatedly been victimized by gang violence, both in the metropolitan areas and rural parts of the state. In just the last five years gangs which originally emerged in Portland have spread to 18 counties. The fact is, gangs are now everywhere. The severity of the problem cannot be compared between a small town and a large one, because families victimized by illegal gang activity suffers just as much at either location, and the impact to the community is just as traumatic.

15 CITY PROGRAM

In Oregon, with the assistance of BJA funding, we established a computerized intelligence network between 15 Oregon cities with emerging gang problems. This system has enabled law enforcement officers to communicate, track, and document gang members. This grant project also provides funding to those 15 police departments for equipment and overtime related to gang prevention and intervention. The computerized intelligence network is also connected to eight cities in the neighboring states of Washington and Idaho.

AMER–I–CAN

The Amer–I–Can Program is an integral part of the State Police Gang Intervention Program. In coordination with law enforcement, the program is utilized as a proactive method of reaching gang involved or at risk individuals in the training of life management skills.

Amer–I–Can utilizes former gang members and inmates in an 80–90 hour curriculum. The training consists of greater development of self-esteem, appreciation of family, anger control, prowess in problem solving and decision making, money management skills, communication skills, employment seeking, and retention skills. The Amer–I–Can Program is directed to all, regardless of race, gender, or age and has been highly successful in Oregon Correctional Institutes, public high schools, community based programs, and law enforcement classes.

Police officers, correction officers, and parole officers in Oregon were the first in the country to receive training from Amer–I–Can facilitators. They have found great value in attending the classes through an increased awareness in sensitivity towards cultural differences between law enforcement and gang members. Facilitators and trainees have developed mutual respect and a greater understanding of one another. Over 70 officers in Oregon have received the full training, and 800 State Police officers have received in-service orientation training by Amer–I–Can facilitators.

RESOURCE DIRECTORY

The third component of the State Police Intervention Program is the State Computerized Resource Directory. Funded by BJA money, a statewide Gang Resource Directory, maintained by the Oregon State Police, will contain a data base of various services that will assist gang afflicted individuals through a holistic approach. The data base will contain information of services related to employment, drug and alcohol programs, mental health and health needs, education, juvenile parole, children's services, and housing programs. Access to the data base will be accomplished by any field office of the state programs represented, law enforcement agencies of the 15 cities mentioned previously, and any other government agency networked to the data base. Through coordination and utilizing the multi-disciplinary approach, an individual can receive help that addresses a multitude of problems at the same time, thus improving the chances for success. Written directories containing the data base services will be published and distributed to all parts of the state for use by organizations who do not have computer access.

In the future, we hope to enlarge the data base to include services provided by county and municipal organizations as well.

Further details of the Oregon State Police Intervention Program are contained in written material, submitted with my prepared remarks.

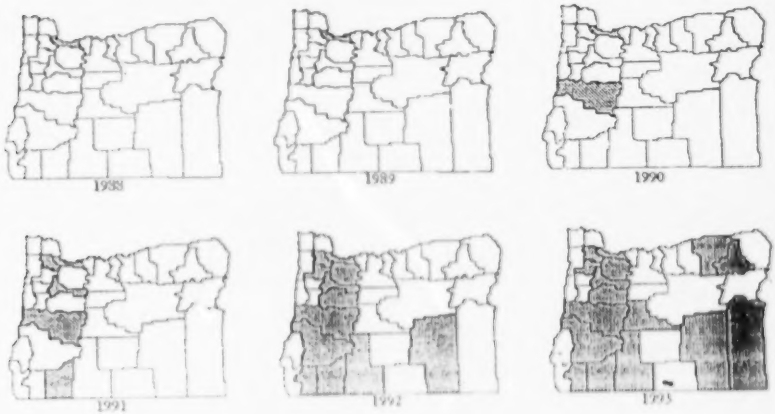
We are convinced that unless gang issues are addressed through team work and collaboration utilizing a combination of suppression, intervention, and prevention we can not holistically deal with the severe damage being caused by illegal gang activity across this country. States and local communities should be required to address these issues in a cooperative manner, and future funding should be tied to such multi-disciplinary approaches.

That concludes my testimony. I will be happy to answer any questions.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF STATE POLICE GANG INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

The Oregon State Police began their gang enforcement efforts in 1988 when then Governor Goldschmidt placed State Police Officers in the city of Portland to assist with a growing gang problem. State Troopers were placed on city transit buses and the State Youth Gang Strike Force was formed. The Strike Force mission was to target mid-level drug dealers in order to begin dealing with an escalating crack cocaine problem. State Police Officers also became involved in Portland's Gang Enforcement Team. State Officers were partnered with city officers and began working the streets of North and Northeast Portland.

During this time, the State Police began developing an intelligence network intended to document, track, and monitor gang activity around the state. Oregon's first gang member outside Multnomah County was documented in 1990 in Lane county.



DOCUMENTED GANG PRESENCE BY COUNTY

As the Department continued its efforts in Portland, the gang phenomenon continued expanding outside Multnomah County. In response to this escalating problem, the Department secured funding through the Bureau of Justice Assistance, Edward Byrne Memorial Fund to enhance the 7 cities intelligence program and bring Jim Brown's Amer–I–Can program to Oregon.

The 7 Cities Program utilized grant funds to enable seven communities with emerging gang problems to hook up to the Department's existing intelligence network. The funds specifically purchased computer equipment, paid for gang enforcement overtime, and assisted with training and travel needs related to gang intervention. The seven cities consisted of Woodburn, Salem, Medford, Bend, Eugene, Springfield, and Ontario. This program was highly successful and began the process of identifying the gang problem on a statewide basis. This process of mutual collaboration and interagency cooperation unparalleled in Oregon History. Because of the initial success, the program was expanded during the next grant period to include eight additional cities around the state. These cities are Hillsboro, Beaverton, Gresham, Hermiston, Oregon City, Grants Pass, Albany, and Klamath Falls. All fifteen cities are now documenting gang activity within their communities. Due to this program, we have now documented a gang presence in eighteen counties around the state. At the end of 1993, 76 percent of all new gang members were documented outside of Portland. This program is allowing the state, as well as local communities, to identify and begin dealing with their gang problem.

Another benefit to this system is the Office Safety Alert Program in Law Enforcement Data System (LEDS). This program allows us to enter all documented gang members into LEDS so that any officer around the state who contacts a gang member knows who he is dealing with. This program not only enhances officer safety, but it also allows us to monitor gang activity since the Gang Unit is notified about each contact.

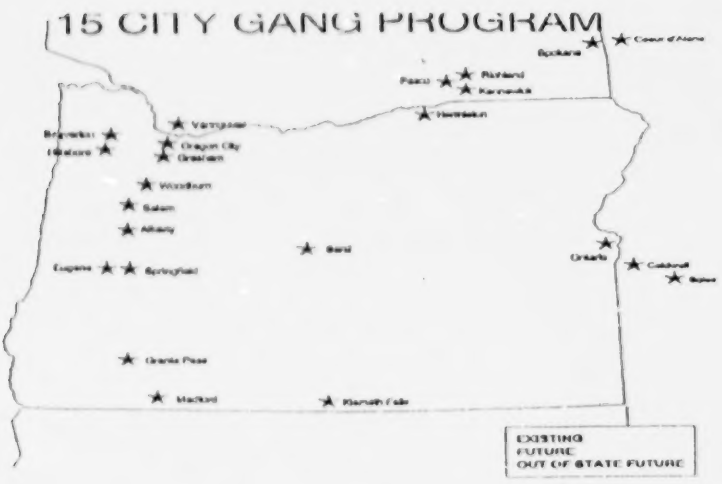
As stated earlier, the Department, with the support of Governor Roberts and State Senator Webber, brought the Amer–I–Can program to Oregon. This unique intervention program uses past gang members to facilitate or teach life-management skills classes to gang-affected youth. The Amer–I–Can curriculum also teaches responsibility for your own actions, decision making skills, motivation, effective communication, goal setting, financial stability, family relationships, and employment search and retention techniques. This innovative program has been successfully implemented in Oregon at three different levels. First, the curriculum is being taught in the Oregon Correctional system. This is being done because inmates inside our prisons have a major effect on what is happening on the street. Second, the classes are being taught in various schools in Portland, Woodburn, and Salem and at different community-based locations in Portland and Salem. Students are receiving credit for the course when taught in the high schools, and interest in the class remains high. There has been a great deal of positive feedback from the schools concerning Amer–I–Can. Examples of community-based classes are at the House of Umoja, Campfire Gang, Peace Program, and Chemawa Indian School. The third level of implementation involves teaching the class to police officers. To date, over seventy police officers have been trained in the Amer–I–Can program. Officers are taught by Amer–I–Can facilitators who use the same material as used for the gang-affected youth. Initial response to the class is usually skepticism; however, the vast majority of officers finish enjoying the class and learning a great deal about the gang life-style. This level of implementation is important in order to help officers understand the gang life-style and learn sensitivity to more effectively deal with gang-affected youth. Police officers learn to think of gang affected youth as human beings with the same basic needs as anyone else.

As these two programs were becoming established, the Department continued to work in the Portland Metropolitan area. In the spring of 1993, the Department made a dramatic shift of resources and changed its emphasis in the area of gang enforcement to a more balanced approach of gang intervention. The State Youth Gang Strike Force was eliminated and all members working with the Portland Gang Enforcement team were returned to Patrol Division.

While this transition was being made, the Department continued to support the Amer–I–Can program and operate its gang intelligence network. Supervision of these programs were transferred to General Headquarters in Salem.

During the Spring of 1993, the Department, along with other state agencies, began work on a third gang related program. A committee was formed and work began on a State Agency Resource Directory. The directory will consist of a statewide computerized database listing all resources available to help gang-affected individuals. When completely implemented, the program will allow anyone working with gang affected individuals the ability to access a computerized network, enter a profile of someone's needs, and access all information about resources available to meet those needs. This program is being implemented under the leadership of Governor Roberts and is being supervised by the Gang Unit at Headquarters. It should also be noted that this program is being funded with a Bureau of Justice Assistance grant through Criminal Justice Services.

In July 1993, BJA grants were renewed and expanded for the 7 Cities Program and Amer–I–Can. The 7 Cities Program, as stated earlier, was expanded to include 8 new cities. The program, now officially called the Gang Resource Intelligence Program, has also hooked up other agencies outside the grant program, to include agencies in Washington and Idaho. The usefulness of this program is increasing with each new agency that hooks up. Agencies are beginning to use the system to assist in solving crimes involving documented gang members. Decision and policy makers are also relying on the program for up-to-date information about the gang problem. This program is the only system available to track gang activity around the state. With each passing day it is becoming more evident how important it is to collaborate among agencies in order to solve our gang problem.



Amer–I–Can has also expanded during 1993. The program has been implemented in the Woodburn and Salem areas at several different levels. Woodburn High School and McKay High School have classes in progress. The program has also begun at Chemawa Indian School and Chemeketa Alternative High School. The curriculum is still being taught at the Correctional facilities in Salem and has also been added to Marion County Juvenile Court. Amer–I–Can has expanded its program in the Portland area, as well, with classes being held at Benson High School and at House of Umoja. The vast majority of our feedback on this program has been very positive.

In December of 1993, the State Agency Resource Directory Program moved closer to reality with the program "kickoff" taking place on December 8th. Agencies attending this event were very positive about the program. Initial start-up with the pilot agencies will be in March 1994. The initial start-up will involve only pilot agencies until the system is up and running. After everything is operational, state, local, and private organizations will be invited to participate in the program. This will ensure users of the system will have access to all available resources in order to help someone out of the gang life-style. Statewide user and user manager training is scheduled for February 23, 1994, and will be conducted on Oregon Ed-Net.

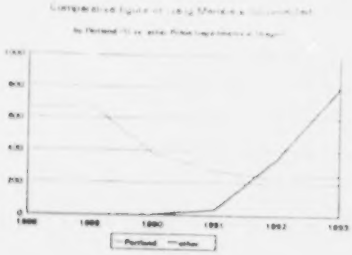
OREGON STATE POLICE GANG PROGRAM

The Department had established a statewide position intented to assist local prosecutes and police agencies with hate and bias crime investigations. This position is currently filled by an expert on racist Skinheads. This detective also performs various community education programs and acts as a liaison with intra and interstate law enforcement agencies regarding hate and bias crimes.

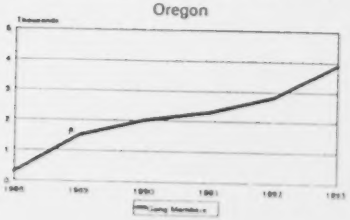
OREGON'S GANG PROBLEM AND TRENDS

Oregon is facing a serious gang problem that is growing everyday. While most of the attention in the past has been given to the Portland area because of the large gang presence in Multnomah County, we are now beginning to recognize and document a significant shift in the growth of gangs in Oregon. While Portland is still

experiencing a serious gang problem, and their gang population is continuing to grow, it should be pointed out that communities outside of Portland are now documenting 76 percent of all new gang members in the state. The following graphs clearly demonstrate this shift in growth.

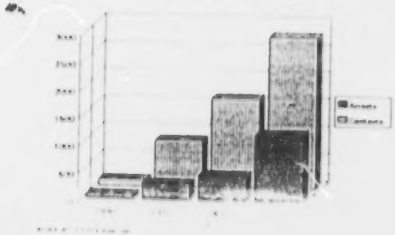


Gang members documented in the state of Oregon



The following graph illustrates the escalation in arrests and contacts by police with gang members since 1990.

Statewide Gang Member Contacts and Arrests
1990 through August 1993



Oregon is experiencing some significant trends that illustrate the serious nature of our gang problem:

- California gangsters are actively exploring and recruiting drug dealers near schools in Medford, Grants Pass, Klamath, Falls and Roseburg.
- California Crips and Bloods continue to import crack cocaine into the state for sale and distribution.

- California and Oregon Hispanic gangsters are becoming more active in dealing cocaine as a means of monetary gain.
- Washington and Idaho law enforcement agencies are seeing similar trends, and desire interstate cooperation and intelligence exchange as gangsters become more mobile and cross state lines to further drug dealing enterprises.
- Gang related homicides continue in Portland, and we are seeing our first gang homicides outside Portland. Prior to 1992, there were no gang-related homicides outside Portland. Since the beginning of 1992, there have been eight gang-related homicides in Oregon.
- Two known Oregon gang affiliates have been killed in the Los Angeles area while conducting drug deals.
- An Oregon gangster traveled to Idaho and committed a gang-related homicide.
- Two Oregon gangsters were arrested in Boise, Idaho, after an incident at a Boise area motel.
- Oregon is experiencing rapid growth of miscellaneous white gangs throughout the state.
- 80 percent of Crips and Bloods outside of Portland are white.

To further illustrate Oregon's emerging problem, it is helpful to look at one specific county. Marion County is a good example of the rapid change and growth of gangs in Oregon.

- There are 409 total documented gang members in Marion County.
- There were 289 NEW gang members documented in 1993. This represents 70 percent of the counties total gang population and 29.3 percent of new gang members documented in Oregon for 1993. If Portland is omitted, the 289 figure represents 35.7 percent of the total state growth in gangs.
- Breakdown:

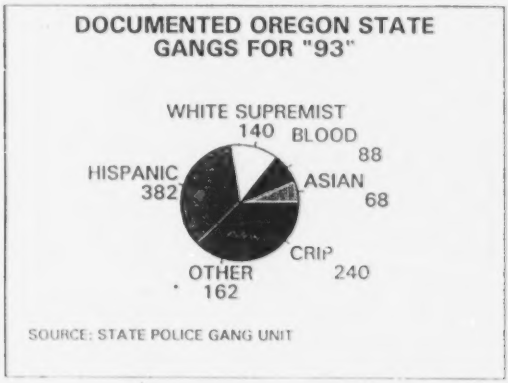
MARION COUNTY GANG MEMBERSHIP

Breakdown	Numbers
Asian	12
Crip/Blood	76
Hispanic	265
Skinhead	39
Others	17

- New gang membership for 1993 in Marion County is broken down by race and sex as follows:

Hispanic:	males	174	White:	62
	Females	20	Hispanic:	121
			Black:	1
			Unspecified:	10
Crip/Blood:	males	50	Hispanic:	9
	females	13	White:	36
			Black:	10
			Asian:	3
			Unspecified:	5
Skinheads:	Males	12		
	females	2		
Asian:	Males	4		
	Females	2		
Other:	Males	8	White:	9
	Females	4	Unspecified:	3

The following graph gives a breakdown of new gang members documented in Oregon during 1993. This brings our total gang population to nearly 4,000



SUMMARY: As this information clearly shows Oregon is facing a serious problem associated with gangs and gang violence. The gang homicide rate outside the city of Portland has nearly doubled between 1992 and 1993. There is a definite trend around the state where disenfranchised youth are becoming attracted to and involved in the gang life-style. If this trend continues, the escalation of violence associated with gangs will persist.

The Department is aggressively implementing intervention programs aimed at curbing this trend. This effort needs to continue around the state. By linking our three intervention programs together, we should begin to reverse this trend. Each program needs to rely on the others. The intelligence network can continue to track and identify the problem. However, as we now know, identifying gangsters and simply incarcerating them doesn't solve the problem. A large majority of gang members want an alternative. Amer-I-can and the State Agency Resource Directory will give those individuals who want to change the opportunity to leave gangs and make the transition into a productive lifestyle. In other words, the programs working together give individuals the life management skills and economic assistance to make a change.

Senator KOHL. We thank you very much.

Mr. Gary Graika, from my City of Milwaukee, my home town?

STATEMENT OF GARY GRAIKA

Mr. GRAIKA. Good morning, Senator Kohl and Senator Cohen. In an effort to be brief and stick to the time line and stay focused, I will read some comments I have prepared.

The number one issue is focusing our efforts on prevention and early intervention programs, while not forgetting to provide services for older youth and young adults involved in gangs.

Anti-gang presentations in the schools by trained outreach specialists, some who may have had past experience in the gang lifestyle, have proven to be effective. Recreational and social activities such as organized leagues, field trips, camping, and dances are vastly underrated. Prison awareness trips, court advocacy, and alternative education have demonstrated to be successful.

Parenting skills training for teen parents needs to be expanded and enhanced. Graffiti removal programs have become a necessary evil. Job training and job placement is essential to older teens and young adults, many of whom are parents themselves.

We need to get away from spending billions of dollars on building more prisons and juvenile institutions. This strategy has been ineffective when you factor in costs, recidivism rates, and lack of an impact on the overall problem. Many incarcerated youth make new connections for drugs and weapons, many times do not receive necessary treatment, and educational and vocational training is sorely lacking.

In addition, the prisons and juvenile institutions are proliferated by gangs, and a gang member who has served time receives increased status upon his release. We need to be realistic. Prisons are for punishment, not rehabilitation, and are a necessary evil in our society.

I equate incarcerating a youth with a parent beating a child, a punishment you feel is necessary at the time but may have a devastating impact in the long run. I see prevention, early intervention programs as providing services in a nurturing way to fill vital gaps in young people's lives. This approach not only makes sense, it makes dollars and cents.

For example, it costs approximately $41,000 per year to house a juvenile in a juvenile institution in Wisconsin. In all likelihood, the youth may return to the same institution, do time in the adult system, and many times be more of a threat to society upon release than when he was first incarcerated.

As a point of comparison, the youth diversion program which we operate receives $683,000 from all funding sources to provide services to literally thousands of youth. That same $683,000 translates into housing less than 17 youth in a juvenile institution for a year. I will eagerly put up our success rate and that of programs which focus on prevention and early intervention against building more prisons and warehousing youth.

The problem of youth gangs, violence, and guns are interrelated and a crisis that has reached epidemic proportions. When cities such as Gary, IN—what a namesake—becomes the murder capital of the United States, and Davenport, IA, with an overall population

of 90,000 and a gang population of 2,500, become plagued with violence, you realize the problem is spreading and not confined to the big city.

Our neighborhoods have become infested with violence, due in part to the illegal marketplace and easy access of handguns. I have serious reservations about the impact of waiting periods to buy handguns on this crisis. I strongly favor gun buy-back programs that utilize toys, food, tickets to sporting events, athletic shoes, money, et cetera, to get guns off the street. A program started by Fernando Mateo in New York City has been very successful.

I also feel stricter licensing regulations, including a large increase in fees to become a dealer—now about $30 per year—should be implemented. The increased revenue should be funneled into prevention/intervention programs. I urge all legislators to stand united and not succumb to the pressures of groups such as the National Rifle Association.

On that note, I will close and respond to any questions you may have. Thank you once again for the opportunity to appear before you.

I would like to, lastly, wish a belated happy birthday to Senator Kohl.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Graika follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GARY E. GRAIKA ON BEHALF OF THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION'S YOUTH DIVERSION PROGRAM

Good morning Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished Subcommittee. It is indeed an honor to have the opportunity to appear before you and express my views on the youth gang problem; an issue that affects hundreds of thousands of people, young and old, on a daily basis.

My name is Gary Graika. I am the coordinator of the Social Development Commission's Youth Diversion Program; which has come to be known as Milwaukee's "gang" program. The Youth Diversion Program has been in operation since 1985. The focus of our program is to provide alternatives to youth at-risk of joining gangs and those who are already gang-affiliated. I am grateful to be allowed to share my experience and viewpoint on the growing national epidemic of youth gangs.

My goal is to provide you with a better understanding of the youth gang phenomenon. The perspectives I intend to share with you are born from eight years of experience as an outreach specialist, working with several rival gangs. In my present position, I have acquired a working knowledge of what program strategies have been demonstrated to be effective, as well as those that have not proven to be successful. I will not attempt to overwhelm you with a plethora of statistical data; but rather, relate to you what I have experienced first-hand and what has been shared with me by colleagues on the "front line" and most importantly, what the youth I've worked with shared with me.

In order to better acquaint you with the magnitude of the gang problem in Milwaukee, I believe we need to revisit the history of gangs in Milwaukee. It has been routinely stated that Milwaukee did not have a gang problem until about 1982. Actually, Milwaukee first began experiencing a gang problem in the mid 1970's. A family, connected with the Spanish Cobras in Chicago, moved to Milwaukee; supposedly to escape the gang lifestyle that had claimed the life of the eldest son. The younger brothers in the family began to sell drugs, beat and shoot people and conduct a general reign of terror on those who stood in their way. A group of neighborhood youth, of which I was a part, began to meet at local playgrounds, parks, and recreation centers. The purpose of these meetings was to decide on a plan of action to confront and combat these "outsiders." We were totally naive to the gang subculture but we did have a member of our group with connections to Chicago. We soon found out that the main rivals of the Spanish Cobras in Chicago were the Latin Kings. We banded together and adopted the signs, colors, hand signals and terminology of the Latin Kings. Fights and shootings between the two groups became commonplace. To this day, the history of hatred between the Spanish Cobras and Latin Kings has its roots in these early battles.

The history of gangs on the northside of Milwaukee was much different. Many of the early gangs began as "break-dance" groups when that fad was popular. Groups such as the Time Boys and Four Corner Hustlers started out as groups of neighborhood youth who were into "break-dancing." Competitions at teen dances were held and many times fights erupted. These groups already had names and colors (uniforms) and soon became part of the gang sub-culture. Other northside gangs started out as street corner groups. These groups of teens who socialized together and "hung out" on certain streets were often labeled by officers of the Milwaukee Police Department. Those that recreated on 27th and Center, became the 2-7's. The youth who lived on or around 34th and Lisbon, became the 3-4 Mob. Others who "hung out" on North 19th Street, became known as the 1-9 Deacons. These youth adopted the names they were labeled with and are still in existence to this day. The gangs that had their origins as "break-dance" groups and street corner groups came into being during the late 1970's and early 1980's. During the mid 1980's, Vice Lords and Black Gangster Disciples from Chicago began to relocate in Milwaukee. They viewed Milwaukee as "virgin" territory to expand their drug dealing operations. Soon many local youth became involved in these organizations from the "big city." Drive-by shootings and fierce battles over control of drug sales in certain areas became common occurrences. At this point in time, the Black Gangster Disciples and Vice Lords are the two largest gangs on Milwaukee's northside.

Many of the gangs throughout Milwaukee grew in size and became involved in drug trafficking. Some of the gangs, because of their growth, had internal problems. Many splinter groups were born out of this internal strife. The Latin Kings, for example, had expanded to the northeast part of the city. Those youth who were part of the "Eastside Kings" became frustrated at not having their own leadership and drug connections. They decided to break away and formed their own group, the Eastside Mafioso's. The Eastside Mafioso's are now one of the most hated rivals of the Latin Kings. The dissension within the ranks became even more apparent when a group of younger Latin Kings, the Junior Kings, decided they wanted to become a separate entity. Many of the Junior Kings lived in the western section of Latin King turf near 21st & Scott. They decided to call themselves the 2-1's, which is the name of a gang in the movie, "Colors." The movie's release coincided with the formation of the 2-1's. The 2-1's are now an enemy of the Latin Kings.

This type of situation, the formation of splinter groups and various "sets," became an important part of Milwaukee's gang problem today. On the southside of Milwaukee we now have Latin Kings, Spanish Cobras, 2-1's, Unknowns, LaFamilia, Latin Disciples, 3rd Street Posse, Nasty Boys and a few smaller sub- sets. Milwaukee's northside gang roster includes Black Gangster Disciples, Vice Lords, 2-7's, 2-4's, Eastside Mafioso's, One-Way, Castle Folks, Eastside Gangsters, and Shorty Folks among others. We now have approximately 25 street gangs in the City of Milwaukee.

The gang problem in Milwaukee is on the rise with more children becoming involved on a daily basis. In addition, the youth who have become entrenched in this dead-end lifestyle are much more violent and many times exhibit little or no remorse for their actions.

There are several reasons why our youth are joining gangs, e.g., for example: the security or safety issue. Many young people believe that in order to feel safe in their neighborhood, at school or where they socialize, that they need to be part of a gang. Other youth become involved for economic reasons, mainly selling drugs because they can't get a decent paying job. This is due in large part to their limited education and lack of job skills. Another reason kids join is because the gang serves as a surrogate family and helps satisfy the need to belong to something. Some youth decide to join for the excitement, glamour, or sense of power they get from being in a gang. Those youth who are new arrivals to Milwaukee, especially those from Puerto Rico or Mexico are particularly vulnerable to the gangs. Generally, the neighborhood where the family relocates has an impact as to what gang the youth may become involved in. Finally, family history has begun to play a bigger role in young people deciding to join a gang. Someone who has seen an uncle sent to prison for involvement in a gang or an older brother get shot because he was part of a gang, may hate what the gang represents. However, if you are at school and are labeled a "King" or a "Cobra," due to your family's previous involvement, you may be harassed, beat up or even shot and look to your family for support. The lifestyle the youth initially to abhorred quickly becomes part of his/her life.

Many of the reasons why kids join gangs can be attributed to various societal factors. In Milwaukee, the loss of thousands of manufacturing jobs, with which a person with limited education could support a family, had a devasting impact. The breakdown of the family structure, dysfunctional families, wrought with problems of abuse and neglect, lack of parenting skills and the problems of alcohol and drug

abuse, contributed greatly to our current situation. Many of these factors can be attributed to "babies having babies." The lack of organized recreational opportunities and a school system that has become a breeding ground for gangs has also played an important role in the development of gangs. The proliferation of guns and drugs on the street has also contributed greatly to the violence. A combination of these elements has led to gangs flourishing and causing a crisis situation in the inner-city that is spreading to the affluent suburbs, small towns and rural America.

The criminal activities that gangs are involved in range from vandalism (graffiti) to homicide. The most common criminal activity the youth engage in is selling drugs. The range of activity goes from gang members selling "crack" on the street corner, to the leader of the Latin Kings being indicted in the largest cocaine ring in the history of Wisconsin; $182 million in one year. Gang affiliated youth also commit battery, burglaries and auto thefts. However, the violent offenses are generally limited to gang against gang. The gangs rarely fight specifically over turf anymore. Generally, a combination of factors, including history, play a larger role than turf itself. A great deal of the violence can be attributed, directly or indirectly, to drugs.

There is a wide range in the level of organization of gangs. Some are loosely knit, while others are extremely structured, displaying a hierarchy or military structure. The leader's title may be chief, president, emir or something similar. He may have lieutenants under his command, a war party chief and various other levels including the foot soldiers. Some gangs are structured based on age; ranging from the "hard core" leadership, generally 18–30+, the juniors who range from 13–17 and the pee-wees, shorties or midgets who range from 7–12. I see the possibility of gangs "franchising" across the country; for the simple reason that the Crips and Bloods have spread throughout the Northwestern United States, into Minneapolis and through Wichita, Kansas. I have been contacted by people in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Fort Lauderdale, Florida and San Antonio, Texas, for information on the Latin Kings. However, I don't believe there is a real structure or network between these groups with the same name. There may be a connection for drugs or weapons, similar by-laws, colors, terminology and symbols. However, I don't think there is a real threat of these gangs totally uniting across the nation.

The age makeup of street gangs ranges from about seven years old to adults in their thirties and forties. I have seen, first hand, how the father of the Spanish Cobra's leader, a man in his sixties, served as the main supplier of drugs for that organization. I do not believe it is really possible to calculate an "average" age for gang membership. Age of members will vary between different gangs. The younger kids are frequently used as street runners for drugs, to carry weapons, and in some cases, to do shootings; because their penalty will be much less severe than if an older member committed the same offense. The younger children are also responsible for most of the graffiti, a large portion of auto thefts, burglaries and many fights. I believe that at one point there was a core of hardened gang members who were responsible for most of the violence and crime. Today, I believe with the kids committing violent acts, the crime and violence is being spread around much more. Many young children are becoming victims as well as perpetrators.

In order to begin to combat the gang problem, we need to take a multi-faceted approach. Parents, schools, law enforcement, community-based organizations and the private sector need to combine efforts in a collaborative approach.

The strategies that have been demonstrated to be effective are job training/placement, court advocacy, organized recreational/social activities, crisis mediation, prison awareness field trips and preventive measures in the schools. Although gangs and drugs are closely related, it is not realistic to expect youth who are making a living selling drugs to access treatment services. Creating stiffer penalties and building more institutions to warehouse youth would appear to be a waste of money; money that could be better utilized on preventing youth from joining gangs and on early intervention efforts. Additionally, when you look at the cost of keeping a youth in a juvenile institution, approximately $41,000 per year in Wisconsin, the cost-effectiveness does not compute. The types of intervention programs that utilize former gang members and those who may have experienced the "street life" seem to have more of an impact.

The Youth Diversion Program has been in existence since 1985. Currently, we are funded by the City of Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin. We provide a wide array of services for at-risk and gang affiliated youth between the ages of 13–19. However, we have worked with kids as young as seven and with adults in their thirties. The services we provide include job placement, which cannot be emphasized enough, referral to educational programs, court advocacy, including exchanging juvenile citations for community service, anti-gang presentations in the schools, crisis intervention services, trainings on the gang sub-culture to parents, school and agen-

cy staff and law enforcement units, recreational leagues, (basketball, flag football, etc.) another underrated service, prison awareness field trips and a winter and summer camp to expose youth to new horizons and counseling. We combine our efforts with the Milwaukee Public Schools, Milwaukee Police Department, Municipal and Juvenile courts, a network of community agencies and, on a limited basis, the private sector. We have a staff person housed at strategically located community organizations to provide services to youth from the diverse gang populations. Many youth will not seek out services. Therefore, our outreach workers have to be able to go into gang neighborhoods and relate to these young people. By being at a community based organization, our staff person has a base to provide services out of this is important because a Vice Lord may not be able to seek out help at one agency and a Spanish Cobra may not feel safe at another agency. Our referrals come from the courts, schools, parents, probation officers and most importantly, word of mouth. Our success with assisting a youth allows our reputation to spread and gives us credibility on the streets.

I see benefits in working with hard core members as well as the leadership of the gangs. I have personally had success in assisting older gang members with employment, court advocacy and treatment services. By assisting a gang member in a position of power, the word spreads and the outreach worker receives instant credibility with that particular gang. The worker has a natural "in" and is then able to funnel other members of the gang into positive alternatives. Also, when a crisis situation arises, the worker will have an established relationship with someone in a position to make decisions.

I believe our program has been very successful; especially when you take into account what we have accomplished with a limited staff and budget. Our reputation with the courts, schools, police, parents and most importantly, the youth involved in gangs is well respected. We are presently tracking outcomes and although it is next to impossible to measure prevention, we had an independent evaluation conducted by the Center for Health Policy and Program Evaluation at the University of Wisconsin- Madison in 1992. The study results were very positive and provided further support to what we already believed; that we are making a positive impact on young peoples' lives.

I applaud the number of efforts around the issue of developing truces between gangs. I have conducted truce meetings at various points in time with different gangs and know the level of effort it takes and how difficult it is to maintain. I believe, to a certain extent, in recognizing and working with gangs as an institution. However, I believe it is equally important, if not more, important, to work with individual gang members. I have a few reservations about giving support and status to gangs as institutions and believe it is possible to turn some gangs into legitimate, non-criminal organizations. I think that if we can get these young people to the point where they have a realistic hope for the future, by providing them training and a way of making a legitimate living for them and their families, then I am completely and whole-heartedly in favor of it.

Another program operated by the Social Development Commission, the Milwaukee Youth Opportunities Collaborative (MYOC) is a fine example of a program that strives to prevent youth ages 8 to 16 from becoming involved with gangs. The MYOC Program is a coalition of 21 community based organizations including the Milwaukee Public Schools, Children's Court, Milwaukee Police Department, Private Industry Council, nine neighborhood youth centers and central city churches. MYOC is funded by the Department of Health and Human Services, Family and Youth Services Bureau and has been very successful since its inception last year.

I feel the federal government should continue to look at and fund programs that are innovative and community-based in nature. The programs that focus on prevention and early intervention should be expanded and given high priority. Job training and placement for older teens and young adults are essential and should take a look at non-traditional, entrepreneurial types of careers for young people. Recreational/social programs for youth need to be enhanced, to give young people something positive to do, open up new horizons and expose them to new experiences. The value of recreational activities is extremely underrated. Programs which receive funding to provide these types of services should definitely be given priority over building more prisons. Finally, programs that are innovative-type demonstration projects need to have the latitude to explore what works and what does not. Funding a one or two year project is not realistic or cost effective. You need to develop a rapport with the youth and time to implement the ideas and services our youth are in need of; especially, the job training/placement type programs. These are projects where you may not see immediate results; they will bear fruit over a period of time.

Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to address this distinguished Subcommittee on an issue that is indeed dear to my heart.

Senator KOHL. Thank you.
Mr. GRAIKA. You are welcome.
Senator KOHL. Thank you very much, Mr. Graika.
Mr. Galipeau?

STATEMENT OF JIM GALIPEAU

Mr. GALIPEAU. Thank you. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, members of this distinguished committee, and fellow panelists. It is an honor to have the opportunity to appear before you on such an important issue.

My name is Jim Galipeau. I am a Los Angeles County Deputy Probation Officer assigned to the Metropolitan Specialized Gang Unit in South Central Los Angeles. I have been a probation officer for 28 years of my life. I am 51 years old. I was in Vietnam for 2 years prior to my becoming a probation officer. As you can see, I have spent the majority of my life as a probation officer, and there are very few people in South Central Los Angeles who have consistently worked as long as I have.

I was there when the Crips and the Bloods were founded. I was involved with the young men who formed the Crips and the Bloods. I counseled them, I chased them around on the streets, and I have kept in contact with the leadership of some of the major gangs, several of which were mentioned here today. The Rollin' Sixties Crips is a gang I have been with since its inception. The A–Train Gangster Crips that collected fame as a result of Florence and Normandie Streets and the insurrection we had in 1992, these are youngsters I have been working with, the ones that are in jail and penitentiaries, since they were little kids.

I guess what I really want to do with my brief period here is to try to bring my experience to bear to let the committee understand some of the things that went into the Crips and the Bloods being formed. They were founded in the late 1960's and early 1970's in fertile grounds, because the black power and pride movement that had come in the 1960's had really raised the consciousness of a lot of the black youth in the ghetto where I worked and watched in South Central Los Angeles.

There was the Black Panther Party, US, the Nation of Islam, and vocal leaders such as Eldridge Cleaver, Angela Davis, Huey Newton, Ron Caringa, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and these people gave the youngsters pride. They wore natural hairdos, they wore the dashiki outfits, they called each other names of endearment such as blood brother and cousin, and they were shortened to blood and cuz.

When the end of the 1960's came, most of these leaders and programs, the leaders had been killed or discredited and there was a vacuum. The Crips and the Bloods came in, unfortunately, to fill the background in black pride. There weren't leaders directing the black pride movement anymore, and the slogans cuz and blood became words that young black men used to hurt and kill each other.

When the Crips and Bloods first started, physical prowess was the main criteria. Guys fought what they call from the shoulders, with their fists. The guys who were tougher and had what they call more heart were the higher status members of the gangs. They

dealt with basically honor and protecting the neighborhoods and loyalty.

But weaker and less dedicated youth began to seek membership in the gangs as they proliferated, and the use of weapons increased. The advent of crack cocaine into the equation as a funding source for more sophisticated weapons and proliferation of the gangs to different areas was really the thing that turned the gangs from their original motivation.

The social conditions that spawned gangs have become worse in South Central Los Angeles. Cocaine has broken the pride, loyalty, and physical prowess equation in the gang, and black gangs have never really been organized. The efforts of the FBI gentleman that was here, they are just now getting into the thing. They basically don't have presidents, vice presidents, sergeant-at-arms, treasurers.

The way the gangs have spread has basically been as families tried to move out of the South Central Los Angeles area to get their kids out of the gangs, they brought the gangsters with them and they started the gang activity in different areas. Also, the proliferation of cocaine throughout the country, where they can charge up to ten times as much for the rocks that they well in Los Angeles, has made gang bases, whereas certain Crips sets and certain Blood sets will have gang members living in different areas to push their cocaine.

They are not really as well organized as a lot of law enforcement would have you want to believe, because the Crips are too busy killing each other and Bloods, even though they get along, they are independent. The only real Blood organization that has tried to get them together for distribution of drugs, it was called the Black Guerrilla Family, which is a prison gang that started in the prisons of California and now is in other prisons around the country, and they have not been successful in getting an organized dope business going.

The big exception to this has been a peace that was started, and it had a lot to do with Jim Brown's Amer–I–Can Program and working with the youngsters in the projects, the Watts Projects primarily, where by themselves, these guys got a peace going that has held up to this date in Watts and Compton. There was no outside assistance from law enforcement or probation or anything else. These guys have done it themselves, and that is why it is lasting.

That leads me to my major premise and where Jim Brown and I hooked up several years ago, because we see the problem identically, and that is you cannot deal with this gang problem without enfranchising these hard-core gang members. You don't have to like them. A lot of law enforcement officers who I have respect with and work the streets with cannot understand why I am personally messing with these guys. They will say, why do you want to give status, why do you want to give recognition to these criminals?

My point is, I belong to a health organization called Kaiser Permanente, that you may or may not be familiar with. Kaiser does not spend much money on me, thank God, because I don't even go in when I am supposed to for my physicals. I have been blessed with good health, in spite of the fact that I don't take care of myself, so they don't spend a lot on me.

But I have a neighbor, a lady who lives right next door to me, who is in Kaiser 6 days a week. She has all these illnesses, whether they are psychosomatic or true, but she is always down there. I could go every day if I wanted to.

I think we have to look at this in a medical model role. You can't sit there and say you don't give recognition, you don't give resources to sick people. In essence, what I see—the cancer analogy struck me as I was sitting back there. If you have a cancer, you don't just chime it on, you have to deal with it.

To me, I believe that in this country, the gang problem is reaching epidemic proportion. Our gangs have proliferated and we need to deal with the problem now. The only way we are going to do that is to focus on the gang problem and how it is affecting the country. The way we are going to do it is not by building more jails. Jails are terribly expensive and ineffective. The defense cutbacks in California have given us a lot of Army bases that are sitting around. I have asked the council, the department of corrections or the governor's office and stuff, I try to tell them to go ahead and use those bases to put our medium- and low-risk prisoners in and leave the joints for the hard core.

But we need to enfranchise the original gangsters, these guys that the young men look on like the second coming of Christ, and work with them to help change the gangs. We are not going to get rid of the gangs in the near future, but we can certainly change their direction and have them helpful to us.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Galipeau follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES J. GALIPEAU ON BEHALF OF THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT

My name is Jim Galipeau. I have been employed as a Los Angeles County Deputy Probation Officer for over twenty eight years and I am currently assigned to the Metropolitan Specialized Gang Unit which supervises hardcore gang members in South Central Los Angeles. I began my work with Los Angeles County Probation Department during the Watts Riots of 1965 and became especially interested in the plight of the South Central Los Angeles "ghetto." I watched the development of "black pride" and "Black power" develop and witnessed the affects of the Black Panther Party, US, the Black Muslims and several other Black Nationalist Group in particular on the youth of the South Central Community. I had become familiar with the leadership of the Black Panther Party while I was a student at the University of California at Berkeley in 1963 and saw a considerable change in their message and tactics from 1963 in Oakland to 1966 and '67 in South Central Los Angeles. I witnessed the formation of first the "crips" and the "Bloods" and became familiar and conversant with the founders of both gangs. I have seen the Crips and the Bloods proliferate from South Central Los Angeles throughout Los Angeles County and throughout the State of California and throughout the nation. I have continued to work closely with the leadership of many Crip and Blood sets as well as to a lesser extent Hispanic Gangs over the last twenty five years and have a cadre of these original gang members referred to as (O.G.') who voluntarily work with me on the streets of South Central Los Angeles to promote peace between rival gangs and curb violence.

The testimony I am prepared to give on this date does not necessarily reflect the views of the Chief Probation Officer of Los Angeles, Barry J. Nidorf, nor his administration nor does it necessarily reflect the views of the International Union for which I am a local Vice President. My testimony will reflect solely my extensive and intensive street experience as a gang Probation Officer in South Central Los Angeles since before the "Crips and the Bloods" were formed.

The gang problems in L.A. County is one of epidemic proportion and it is spreading throughout California and the rent of the USA. South Central Los Angeles Gangs are funded by organized distribution of Crack cocaine and are heavily armed and financially able to spread their violence and drugs wherever they choose.

I have strong and well-grounded feelings on how gang intervention must be done and sad anectodal experiences on how a tremendous infusion of federal honey into South Central Los Angeles failed miserably to address the problems that allowed Raymond Washington, Mack Thomas, Sylvester Scott and Bobby Lavender to found and easily recruit Black youth to the Crips and Bloods.

Vast federal funding was distributed to proposals both large and small that has little or no accountability or credibility. Several years later when it became apparent that the Federal Government was "being ripped off" it appeared that a "meat axe" approach was taken and the good programs went down the tubes with the bad. Even the state and county agencies such as my own employer were not prepared to deal with the massive infusion of funding and when the well ran dry, great specialized Probation programs were cut. The experience that we "who work the streets" have gained over the last twenty years since funding sources, federal state and municipal have dried up has painfully pointed out to us that what works is just as hard to get funded and sometimes harder than what doesn't work.

As an addendum, I submitted a gang abatement proposal (Attachment II) I wrote for funding by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors several years ago. This proposal targeted several violent rival gangs in the geographic area which included Florence and Normandie Streets in South Central Los Angeles where the alleged "flash point" of a disturbance occurred and the world saw the vicious beating of the truck driver, Reginald Denny and others. This program while enthusiastically received by all politicians and bureaucrats has yet to be funded for the lack of $350,000 start up cost for the first year.

I'm prepared to give numerous examples to the Committee as a whole and individual members of the Committee who might desire more information, programs tried and true that have gone under or are hanging on only by a shoestring due to lack of funding. With proper funding and federal support these programs could be replicated throughout South Central Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California and the USA. These programs would immediately impact gang, school violence and rehabilitation problems in our communities (See attachment I)

The failures of federal funding in the past has indicated to me that the direction further funding programs must take is not to accept professionally written proposals by social scientists and academicians who haven't "worked the streets" but first and foremost to fund tried and true projects and replicate them wherever the problem exists.

An example of generous funding having limited and no results in South Central Los Angeles is the educational grant and loan program that funds alleged job training programs that are supposed to take uneducated and untrained persons and in usually four to six months raise their education and job skill level to the point that they are employable. Many of these program employ what I refer to as "hustlers" to hang out in the parking lots in front of Probation offices, welfare offices and unemployment offices and convince unemployed, needy people to come with them to an office where a trained employ of the school fills out the necessary federal forms and applications for the school to receive funding for this person. Most of these schools have unfortunately in my experience done little or nothing to ensure that their clients and mine get proper training to prepare them for a job—never mind providing them with actual employment upon completion of their program. These schools seem to be interested more in getting the federal funding and then blaming failure on the person who they signed up. My gang members then returned to The stating that not only did the school not provide them with a legitimate job referral but when they went to seek employment in their field on their own, they were unable to pass the proficiency and qualification tests that the school told them they were prepared for. The federal money has long been in the pockets of the Administrators of the school program and within a year or two should my client get any type of minimum wage job, his income tax return is withheld and his credit is damaged because he has not repaid the federal loan that he applied for through the school. At this distinguished committee can have any influence on the federal agency responsible for funding such programs, I would strongly suggest that the private operators of these schools be paid only a minimum entrance fee and at the balance of the funds be paid only when their client has been placed on a job in the field for which he was trained and the balance after he has been on that job for six months period of time.

Last, my experience relating to what works and what doesn't indicated that to me that long term jail doesn't. It is too expensive and gang members often return more criminally sophisticated, stronger physically and more dangerous. What does work is to enfranchise high status older original gangsters on a very selective basis and pair them with street intervention professionals such as probation and parole officers to gain entry and credibility into these specific gangs. In spite of resistance

from many police agencies and bureaucrats, I have been able to demonstrate the great power of a street gang DPO who interacts with the younger gang members along with original gangsters from their own gang. This method has allowed me to "sell" to street gang members the positive programs lifted in attachment A that they would not buy if simply presented them by Probation Officers, Police, Social Workers, etc., without O.G. endorsement.

Thank you for your kind consideration of my statements and please realize that time and space constraints of this written and oral presentation preclude my expounding on this specific design and merits of the programs in attachment #1. These programs could be incorporated into a "systems approach" to deal with the contributing factors to crime, delinquency and violence including education, recreation, job training, self-respect, pride, achievement, family counseling and preservation, sexual responsibility, personal hygiene and living wage employment.

Attachment (2): Youth intervention program (YIP)—private ownership—alternative school, residential placement, and family preservation program.

Community youths sports and arts foundation (CYSAF)—private ownership—alternative school, residential placement and parenting classes.

Impact program—state national guard and EDD (employment development department)—six week intensive Ged training ending with graduation and $8 per hour plus job with medical dental benefits for defendants.

L.A. Times reading lab—L.A. Times, IBM, and ABC unified school district. State of the art mobile computer that uses program learning techniques capable of bringing a functionally illiterate person to high school reading level in eight weeks.

School crime suppression unit—L.A. county probation department DPOS on school campus full time less than two dozen in L.A. unified school district should be one in every school.

Boot camp—L.A. county probation department—intensive military-type training in four to six months residential camp settings.

Camps aftercare—L.A. county probation department intensive caseloads of 25 or less to follow up on camp attorneys so that value and expense of court ordered camp programs are not lost.

Gang alternative prevention program (GAPP)—L.A. county probation department—early intervention in grade school and junior high school for "at risk youths susceptible to gang involvement."

Specialized gang supervision unit—L.A. county probation department—25 caseloads intake selection for hardest core gang members probation from each gang presently only eight gang units in the L.A. county population of 10 million people and 150,000 identified gang members.

Intensive surveillance program—L.A. county probation department—electronic and other high tech supervision to reduce jail overcrowding on non-violent offenders and track less involved gang members more closely.

To: Hon. Mike Antonovich, Supervisor, Fifth District, Hon. Kenneth Hahn, Supervisor, Second District, Lori Howard, Field Deputy, Fifth District, Jim Cleaver, Field Deputy, Second District

Regarding: Gang Violence Reduction Proposal

I am submitting this brief outline pursuant to many hours of discussion and field visits among the undersigned, Lori Howard and Jim Cleaver over the past six months. My ideas have been communicated to Lori and Jim as a result of Supervisor Hahn's written requests for proposed solutions to gang violence and Supervisor Antonovich's concern communicated verbally to the undersigned in his capacity as 1991 chair of the County Criminal Justice Coordinating Committee which recently submitted a report on the state of the county gang reduction efforts.

For many years, open gang warfare has existed between three particular gangs: the "Eight Trey Gangster" Crips, the "Rolling 60's" Crips, and the "Van Ness Gangster (V.N.G.)" Bloods. These gangs operate in the general area of 48th Street on the north to Manchester Boulevard on the south and Western Avenue to the east to Crenshaw Boulevard on the west. The hatred and rivalry between the two Crips gangs has gone on for many years and the Bloods and both Crips gangs have engaged in warfare since the inception of the respective gangs. This ill-will has resulted in numerous killings and injuries involving drive-by shootings, raids on rival gang parties and other serious acts of violence. The V.N.G. territory encompasses Crenshaw High School where V.N.G. gang members fear to attend due to the preponderance of Rolling 60's gang members at that High School. The reputation for

violence that these three gangs have with law enforcement, schools, and the community make these gangs ideal for targets of this proposal.

I propose that six slots be provided at the Slauson Area Youth Gang Services Office so that I might recruit six high status O.G. (Original Gangster) gang members (two from each gang) to accompany me to the young leadership of all these gangs to propose a truce among thee three gangs. I propose that we ask each gang to elect two members to represent their respective gang on a dispute resolution board and that we have these gang members trained in mediation by Dean Mellor of the Center for Dispute Resolution at UCLA and Bryan Hance, Attorney At Law, Director of the Christian Conciliation Services. Bath men have offered free training for gang members referred to them by me.

When the elected dispute resolution board of 6 members is trained, only disputes that arise in these neighborhoods will be brought before the board which will hold sessions as required at the neutral territory of "Jim Brown's Amer–I–Can Program" located at Jim's home in Beverly Hills. Solutions will be supported by peer pressure and publicized by gang members in each neighborhood.

I propose to offer younger (14 to 17 year old) gang members who participate in this program individual contract education programs at the Youth Intervention Program located close to these gang areas at Slauson and Denker and at the Community Youth Sports and Arts Foundation, located at 48th and Crenshaw. I propose to send the O.G. gang members hired by C.Y.G.S. to public high schools attended by these gang members as support for school staff as well as Probation and Parole staff to determine if each member can function to advance their education in these regular public school settings without disrupting other students who are trying to learn. Should one of our gang members be identified as a source of disruption or as otherwise failing to benefit from school, the O.G.'s would work with school crime suppression Deputy Probation Officers, school administrators, and two gang/school experts, Quaisi Giegger and Mel Neeley, of the Los Angels Unified School District Attendance Services. This liaison would be designed to place each gang member in an educational setting where he or she can be productive.

I propose to offer the older gang members (17 to 23 years old) slots in the California Impact Program located at 29th and Vermont. This is a six week, eight hour per day G.E.D. training program which is run by the State National Guard and the State Educational Development Department. This program is uniquely able to prepare 17 to 23 year old youths with the skills to pass the G.E.D. Further, one of the full-time instructors is an E.D.D. counselor who works with the students from day one to prepare them to fill out job applications, take job interviews and who screens them with personality and aptitude tests which provide a profile for employers which indicates what types of jobs the applicant is best suited for. After a cap arid gown gradation ceremony, the students, now referred to as cadets, are taken to a job fair where they meet employers and ultimately obtain good entry level jobs paying $8 to $12 an hour with medical and dental benefits.

For gang members older than 23, I propose to network with county and city personnel offices, state Employment Development Department offices and private industry by speaking at chambers of Commerce and businessmens' groups such as Elks, Kiwanis and Lions clubs to develop entry-level job slots which can provide a living wage with appropriate benefits.

For all age level gang members who participate in the program, I propose to offer the services of the Los Angeles Times reading lab where Margene Larson, Barbara Needer and Donna Christofferson have offered the services of both the main reading lab in downtown Los Angeles and a mobile reading lab which comes directly to locations where the need is greatest. The state of the art IBM equipment in these labs has the capacity to take a functionally illiterate person and have them reading at high school level within a two month period of time given, appropriate participation.

As a gang probation officer who has worked with Crips and Blood gangs since they began, it is my feeling that the psychological concept of pluralistic ignorance is operative in our south-central Los Angeles gangs as never before. For example, four gang members may go out on a drive-by shooting. Each person individually may not want to do it, but each feels he would be looked down upon by the other three if he did not. The vast majority of young south central Los Angeles gang members would opt for an end to the black-on-black and brown-on-brown killing if there could be a face saving way out. This proposal hopes to provide such a way out for the three target gangs.

Should this proposal begin to yield results as measured by 8 reduction in violence in the gang areas as well as benefits for the gang members such as G.E.D.'s, jobs, success in school, increased reading skills, it is my opinion that other gangs would be anxious to get on board. The program could then be instituted in other geographic areas throughout the county with other rival gangs provided the existence

of commitment by government and private sectors to provide: 1) alternative educational programs such as Y.I.P. and C.Y.S.A.K. 2) youth gang services or community worker slots for O.G.'s that provide a living wage and benefits for these facilitators; 3) considerable investment in the Times' reading lab for IBM equipment; 4) a consistent flow of job development resources.

Contrary to opinions I have heard expressed by the District Attorney of Los Angeles County and many law enforcement personnel, I do not believe that most gang members identified as hard core have "no redeeming social value." Over the last 20 plus years, I have gotten to know not only hard core gang members (many who are now dead, in state prison, and even on death row) but also their families, employers, school teachers and counselors have come to the conclusion that only a small minority of these gang members could be classified as pathological killers, having psychopathic or sociopathic personalities. The vast majority are misguided, poorly directed and do not respond to the institutions that society has provided for them to pursue successful life styles. It is these young people that propose to target and it is my belief that beginning on a limited scale with the above three gangs, this approach could yield results that might be replicated throughout the county.

Thank you for your kind consideration of this matter. Should you desire further information, feel free to contact me at the Metropolitan Specialized Gang Unit of the Los Angeles County Probation Department.

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
GANG VIOLENCE REDUCTION PROPOSAL
BUDGET 1992/93

A. PROBATION PERSONNEL

POSITION	NUMBER	MONTHS	MONTHLY RATES	AMOUNT
DPO II	1.0	12	4,056.27	48,675
SALARY SAVINGS			4.2439%	(2,066)
Total				46,609
FRINGE BENEFITS @ 30.10% of Personnel Benefits include medical and dental insurance				14,029
Total Probation Personnel				60,638

B COMMUNITY YOUTH GANG SERVICES PERSONNEL

Gang Workers	6.0	12	2,000.00	144,000
FRINGE BENEFITS				5,241
Total Community Youth Gang Services Personnel				149,241

C. SUPPLIES

Sedan	7.0	approx.	14,500.00	101,500
Two way radio (not including instillation)	7.0		900.00	6,300
Protective Vest	7.0	approx.	300.00	2,100
Pager	7.0	12	6.83	574
Total Supplies				110,474

D.	Other Audit - 1% of program cost	3,204
E.	TOTAL DIRECT CHARGES A - D	323,557
F.	INDIRECT COST 10% of Probation Personnel	6,064
G.	TOTAL BUDGET	$329,621

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Mr. Galipeau.
Dr. Spergel?

STATEMENT OF PROFESSOR IRVING SPERGEL

Mr. SPERGEL. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, Senator Cohen, I much appreciate your invitation to testify before the subcommittee.

I am Irving Spergel, a professor in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago with extensive experience as a street worker, program director, and researcher in respect to the gang problem, and perhaps during the discussion I can describe our current program that involves some of the older gang members in Little Village, a Hispanic community in Chicago, working with the police, working with outreach youth workers, working with probation.

It is important to recognize that the gang problem is amorphous and complex. The street gang problem has developed and expanded to many localities, large and small, throughout the country, since about 1980. One estimate is that up to 1,000 cities and towns are currently affected by the problem. It is a problem which seems to especially affect inner-city poor and changing communities, particularly African American and Hispanic, especially Mexican American and Puerto Rican.

However, in the most crime-ridden neighborhoods, a relatively small percent of gang youth, mainly male, 12 to 24 years, approximately 5 percent may be classified as serious chronic gang crime offenders. About 75 to 80 percent of all serious gang violence, at least based on our data in Chicago and Los Angeles and a few other large cities, is probably committed by youth, mainly male, 17 to 25 years of age.

The gang homicide offender has been, on the average, about 19 or 20 years of age, the victim slightly older, for about 15 or 20 years in Los Angeles, in Chicago, in San Diego, and probably in other cities as well.

Younger adolescents are relatively more active in gang-related criminal trespass to property, graffiti, petty theft offenses, and, increasingly, drug offenses.

We should also note that while street gangs are generally more involved in drug dealing activities than in previous decades, such activity tends not to be necessarily associated with strong commitment to street gang violence. Los Angeles and Chicago police statistics currently and consistently indicate that less than five percent of gang homicides include a drug trafficking motive.

The gang problem is not a new social phenomenon, nor is it characteristic only of American society. Historically, the most serious and enduring street gangs in the United States were probably the Irish gangs of the 19th century. African American and Hispanic gangs are Johnny-come-latelys.

The causes of youth gangs are to be found largely in the interaction of two sets of factors: community disorganization and poverty, absolute or relative. The weakness or failure of local institutions, such as family and school, and the fragmentation of local community organization support and control systems especially facilitate the development of alternate socializing institutions such as street gangs. Large-scale migration, intergenerational culture con-

flicts, unresponsive local socializing institutions, and increasing isolation of youth from established institutions of family, school, and the lack of legitimate work opportunities are the basic conditions for the development of gang problems.

Based on research, we know better what not to do than what to do in effectively dealing with the youth gang problem. Simple recreation, midnight basketball, traditional youth services, especially group activities, and occasional mentoring may not be sufficient, and under certain circumstances may serve to cohere gang youth and even increase delinquent activity.

Also, increased police monitoring, harassment, more successful prosecution, and longer prison sentences do not seem to work, particularly when gang youth are indiscriminately targeted and the justice system operates in a strict suppression and yet careless mode.

An effective overall approach is required and should depend on mobilization of local community institutions so they achieve more coordinated and integrated policies and practices, targeted to gang problems at the front end of the justice system. Prevention, intervention, and suppression strategies must occur simultaneously, since the problem is systemic.

You can't use the public health model. The problem varies, also to some extent, by local community. Different patterns of local institutional coordination are required for different age groups.

For example, schools, human service agencies, and police are critical in targeting younger youth who are clearly at risk of serious gang involvement. We need to avoid, it seems to me, in the current legislation or proposals for legislation, we need to avoid general social developmental approaches in which all youth in the community, youth agency, or social settings theoretically receive enriched services or attention. Only those younger youth who have really begun to engage in delinquent gang activity should be targeted for these services and controls.

Furthermore, older, hardened gang youth may require increased levels of supervision and suppression, as well as intensive efforts at remedial education, job training, and jobs with special social supporting controls. Older youth often are more clearly aware of the consequences of their criminal activities and are seeking ways to get out of gangs and rejoin mainstream conventional society.

We need to target those older youth who are most likely to commit serious gang crimes and who are influential in the development of gang structure. Local neighborhood residents, churches, and a variety of local and criminal justice agencies, as well as former gang youth and selected gang youth themselves must be involved together in both of these kinds of coordinated efforts.

Our goals and objectives through these special local community structures and programs should not necessarily be elimination of gangs and all delinquent or crime activity, at least in the short run. We need to be more modest and realistic. Our goals should be the reduction of gang violence and more serious crime activities. Our objective should be more effective cross-agency coordination at policy and field operational levels, and especially improved communication with and interrelated services, controls, and opportunities to gang youths and their families.

Most important, some outside authoritative agency, preferably a criminal justice planning Stage agency, should be integrally involved in planning and monitoring these local efforts and acting as effective conduits for Federal policies and funding.

Effective legislation should require that program planning, research, and evaluation procedures be constructed before actual local program operations begin. We need to know systematically, through tested experience, what programs and strategies work in what communities, with which gangs, and with which particular youth. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Spergel follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF IRVING A SPERGEL ON BEHALF OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STREET GANGS AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT THEM

Mr. Chairman, I much appreciate your invitation to testify before the subcommittee on the subject of youth gangs, gang crime, and violence, and what policies and strategies should be employed to combat the problem.

I am Irving A. Spergel, a professor in the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, with extensive experience as a street worker, project director, and researcher in respect to the gang problem in different communities in the United States, over four decades. Between 1987 and 1991, I was principal investigator of the National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Research and Development Program, funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, of the U.S. Justice Department. We examined the nature and scope of the youth gang problem nationally, developed sets of twelve models and manuals of policy and procedure for a range of criminal justice agencies, schools, employers, community organizations, and youth or social service agencies. In all, more than thirty reports totalling approximately 3500 pages were produced. Regional conferences were held but the models produced have not yet been tested.

Currently I am coordinator and principal investigator of a Gang Violence Reduction Program in a very high gang violence community, southwest of downtown Chicago. Police, Probation, Pre-trial Court Services, community youth workers, including some former gang leaders, and a neighborhood organization are closely collaborating in an effort to reduce serious gang violence among 17 to 25 year old youth in this predominantly low income, working class, Mexican-American community. I will briefly address the character and preliminary results of this project later in my presentation.

I would like to address three topics discussed in Senator Kohl's letter of invitation: Nature and Scope of the Youth Gang Problem; Causes; and Confronting the Problem.

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE YOUTH GANG PROBLEM

It is first important to recognize that the gang problem is amorphous and complex. Sociologists, police, youth agencies, schools, gang members, neighborhood residents, and legislators often define the problem differently. The scope of the problem varies also according to different law enforcement definitions. For example, the definition of a gang crime incident is broader or more inclusive in Los Angeles than in Chicago, which in turn defines its problem more broadly than do police in New York City and Philadelphia. Definition, however, only partially accounts for different levels of the gang problem. Gangs and gang crime patterns vary somewhat across the country, within cities over time; by particular gang and gang members; and by gang subculture.

The street gang problem has developed and expanded to many localities, large and small, throughout the country since about 1980. One estimate is that up to 1000 cities and towns are currently affected by the problem. It is a problem which seems to affect most intensively inner-city, poor, and changing communities, particularly African-American and Hispanic, especially Mexican-American and Puerto Rican. These segments of the population account for approximately 90 percent of gang violence recorded by law enforcement agencies, as reported in recent national surveys. The gang problem in its various manifestations is also found in other low income and working class communities, Caucasian, Asian, Pacific Island, and American Indian.

Furthermore, we observe that even in the most gang crime-ridden neighborhoods, a relatively small percent of gang youth, 12 to 24 years, approximately 5 percent, may be classified as serious, chronic offenders. Different street gangs may vary in structure and behavior in the same community. Nevertheless, there is general evidence of a higher level of serious violence committed by gang members in recent years, in large measure attributable to the increased availability of hand guns and semi-automatic weapons. It should be noted that we are concerned mainly with a male gang member problem of serious violence. While there is some evidence of an increase in female gang membership, there is little evidence of an increased rate of violent behavior by female gang members. However, there are reports of increased involvement by female gang members in drug using and drug selling activities.

The nature of street gang crime seems to vary also by interrelated factors of age, race/ethnicity, organization, and locality. The average age of the gang homicide offender in Los Angeles, Chicago, and several other cities seems not to have changed much in recent decades. The gang homicide offender has been on the average about 19 or 20 years of age, the victim slightly older. While general violence rates of juvenile offenders and victims has risen in recent years, due to many causes, about 75 to 80 percent of all serious gang violence is probably committed by youth, mainly male, 17 to 25 years of age. Younger adolescents are relatively more active in gang-related criminal trespass to property, graffiti, and petty theft offenses.

Street gangs tend to vary by race/ethnicity in their relative commitment to turf-based violence and drug selling activities. African-American gangs, mainly older cliques, are probably more engaged in drug selling activities. Hispanic gangs are relatively more involved in traditional turf-based violent activities. A variety of Asian gangs seem to be generally more committed to such crimes as extortion, home invasion, as well as drug dealing. A description of the wide range of white gang activities should probably emphasize burglary, theft, as well as hate crimes.

Despite some police and media reports, especially reports by national law enforcement agencies, street gang organization and crime patterns are not highly organized. This is not to deny some influence by prison gangs on street gang activities and the development of various so-called branches and sections of certain well-known gangs across cities, states, and the nation. Most often these sections share the same or a similar name, but there is little systematic communication or planned criminal activity across these units. Turf-based gang sections sometimes engage in conflict with other sections with the same name in the same neighborhood. In those cities with a long tradition of gang problems, we observe a greater involvement in drug dealing activities and other more illegitimate income-related activities. However, levels of general crime, domestic violence, and robbery violence are not necessarily related to levels of gang violence.

Criminal justice agencies tend not only to exaggerate the degree of gang organization that exists but also specifically the number and involvement of African-American youth in gang activities, particularly gang violence. Many incidents involving African-American youth should not be classified as gang-related. Also, police and the media sometimes unduly emphasize a close association between gang violence and drug trafficking. While street gangs are generally more involved in drug dealing activities than in previous decades, such activity tends not to be necessarily associated with strong commitment to street gang violence. Los Angeles and Chicago police statistics consistently indicate that less than 5 percent of gang homicides include a drug trafficking motive.

Finally, we should be clear that while gang members tend to be more delinquent or criminal, and more violent than non-gang delinquents and certainly more than defined non-delinquent youth in the same neighborhoods, serious street gang offenses probably account for less than one percent of total index or serious crimes, at least in Chicago. Street gang crime tends to be highly salient because of its violent and threatening character. Certain street gangs and certain of their members are involved in a high degree of violent activity. However, most gang youth outgrow their more criminal, particularly violent, behaviors. Many settle down to working class jobs, some—a very few—go on to college and professional careers.

CAUSES

The gang problem is not a new social phenomenon nor is it characteristic only of American society. Historically, the most serious and enduring street gangs in the United States were probably the Irish gangs of the 19th century. African-American and Hispanic gangs are Johnny-come-lately's, except in the southwestern part of the country. Most rapidly changing societies have undergone and still are subject to serious youth gang problems. Free market, planned economies, advanced industrial

and emerging nations have been and continue to be plagued by gang problems. Japan's delinquency and crime problem is less serious, but the proportion of its crime that is gang-related, organized, and sophisticated is probably greater than our own. Countries of the former Soviet Union are currently undergoing serious, if not pervasive, gang crimes. Germany's current neo-Nazi problem is not unrelated to the increased presence of youth gangs.

I believe the causes of youth gangs are to be found largely in the interaction of two sets of factors: community disorganization and poverty, absolute or relative. The weakness or failure of local institutions, such as family and school, and the fragmentation of local community organization support and control systems especially facilitate the development of alternate socializing institutions, such as street gangs. Poverty and the differential availability of alternate illegitimate opportunity systems are rather more likely to contribute to different patterns of gang crime than to the inception of gangs. Levels of community disorganization and local opportunities and traditions interact with each other to contribute to both the scope and nature of gang crime. Large scale migration, intergenerational culture conflicts, unresponsive local socializing institutions, and the increasing isolation of youth from established institutions of family, school, and work, and their social attachments to them, are the conditions that spawn gangs. Different local cultures, neighborhood gang traditions, and the availability of alternate criminal opportunities at different ages seem to determine the distribution of patterns of gang crime.

Not only may local institutions be weak and disorganized, but often hardcore gang youth themselves are personally disorganized. However, why certain youth from certain families in particular neighborhoods find their way into street gangs is not always clear. Certain individuals, perhaps because of physiological or developmental factors, may be particularly vulnerable to the influences of social contexts where deviant behavior, including gang delinquency, is present. Environmental rather than personality factors are probably more important in predisposing youth to delinquent and gang careers. Street gangs may be viewed as collecting points for youth who have not been successful in their social and personality development. This is particularly so for those youth who become chronic delinquent gang members. Gangs permit youths to play important and quasi-satisfying social roles at least for certain periods of time, but often with serious consequences for the safety of the community and the futures of these youths.

CONFRONTING THE GANG PROBLEM

Based on available research, we know better what *not* to do than what to do in effectively dealing with the youth gang problem. However, such negative knowledge does not seem to be adequately recognized. We may be on the verge of repeating past errors in a more massive way than ever before. Recreation, midnight basketball, traditional youth services, especially group activities, simple and occasional mentoring may not be sufficient, and under certain circumstances may serve to cohere gang youth and even increase delinquent gang activity. Also, increased police monitoring, harassment, more successful prosecution, and longer prison sentences do not seem to work, particularly when gang youth are indiscriminately targeted and the justice system operates in a strict suppression mode.

Youth agencies and law enforcement have been content in recent decades to divide gang problem turf into two organizational mission territories. Human service agencies are more concerned with younger youth and so-called prevention of the problem. Law enforcement is more interested in older youth, more serious and established gang problems around issues of effective control and suppression. Schools have preferred generally not to deal with the gang problem. Citizen groups and local community organizations are usually more interested in enlisting the criminal justice system to stamp out gang crime and keep gang youth out of the neighborhood.

On the other hand, former gang members, or at least those who were formerly active as gangbangers, may claim that they can represent gangs, control their activities, and reduce gang violence. No evidence exists, at least in Chicago or Los Angeles, that gang summitry—involving primarily gang members themselves—can reduce gang violence, except over short periods of time. Only when gang youth or former gang youth are integrated into local community citizen and agency efforts, sometimes including those of criminal justice agencies, does a sustained period of gang violence reduction occur.

At present, we do not have effective answers to the youth or street gang problem. We know that particularistic or isolated organizational mission approaches do not work. Because the youth gang problem has multiple causes, I believe we require a complex of interrelated remedies to deal with it. Prevention, intervention, and suppression strategies may have to occur simultaneously, since the problem is systemic,

although it varies to some extent by local community. Consequently, we need to focus on differential patterns of local community structure, adequacy of local resources, and on targeting the right youth groups with the right social supports, opportunities, and controls.

In general, an overall approach should depend on mobilization of local community institutions so they achieve effective interaction and more coordinated and integrated policies and practices to deal with gang problems. We also need to develop such an approach within a larger framework of effective national gun control legislation, resources for improved remedial education, and more training and job opportunities for vulnerable adolescent youth, including gang youth. Different patterns of local institutional coordination are required. For example, schools, human service agencies, and police are critical in targeting younger youth who are clearly at risk of serious gang involvement. For purposes of gang prevention and control, we need to avoid general social developmental approaches in which all youth in a community, youth agency or social setting receive enriched services or attention. Only those youth who have really begun to engage in delinquent gang activity should be targeted for these services and controls in which teachers, outreach youth workers, family counselors, and police youth officers work closely together.

On the other hand, older, hardened gang youth may require increased levels of supervision and suppression as well as intensive efforts at remedial education, job training, and jobs with special social support and controls. Older youth often are more clearly aware of the consequences of their criminal activities and often are seeking ways to rejoin mainstream conventional society. We especially need to target those older youth who are most likely to commit serious gang crimes and who are very influential in the development of gang structure. Local neighborhood residents, churches, and a variety of local agencies as well as former gang youth and selected gang youth themselves must be involved in both these kinds of coordinated efforts. Formal as well as informal social controls must be built at the local level to reduce gang violent and criminal activities.

Our goals and objectives through these special local community structures and programs should not necessarily be elimination of gangs and all delinquent or crime activity, at least in the short term. We need to be more modest and realistic. Our goal should be both the reduction of gang violence and more serious crime activities. The objectives we choose should be more effective cross agency coordination at policy and field operational levels and especially improved general communication with gang youths and their families. Some outside authoritative agency, preferably a criminal justice planning state agency, should be integrally involved in planning, monitoring these local efforts, and acting as effective conduits for federal policies and funding.

Our Gang Violence Reduction Program in Little Village is one promising effort to reduce serious gang violence among 100 hardcore older gang youth, 17 to 25 years of age. Thirty-eight percent of one of the two warring coalitions of gang youth served (n=52) recently stated in a series of field interviews that they were involved as offenders in a gang homicide in the previous six months. Police, outreach youth workers, some former gang members, probation, and pre-trial court service workers are in contact with each other, share information about targeted gangs and gang youth, and collaborate closely in control and supervision, as well as providing social support, training, and job opportunities. The gang violence reduction team is on the street from 4:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight or 1:00 a.m., or later as needed, weekdays and weekends to control gang outbreaks, counsel gang youths, protect the community from gang violent activity, and facilitate a greater involvement of targeted gang youth with conventional institutions.

In this process, a local neighborhood organization has been formed, comprising churches, park department centers, boys and girls clubs, aldermen's office, a job agency, local block clubs, and resident groups, local businesses, and representatives of a large community organization. This special community group supports the work of the interagency gang violence reduction team, as well as assists other local institutions to more affectively reach out to targeted gang youths, communicate with and provide, on an individual more than a collective basis, access to legitimate resources and at the same time require conformity to conventional or legitimate standards of behavior.

The preliminary estimated results of this experiment, after 18 months of operation, have been some effective local community mobilization of interest and resources on behalf of and to some extent in cooperation with these gang youth. Many of these youth have been reintroduced to school and training programs. We have obtained many jobs, usually not very good jobs, for hardcore youths. Most important, there has been a reduction in gang homicides from eight to four, at least during the first 12 month program period, an absolute reduction in aggravated gang assaults

in the past six months, and a marked reduction in the rate of increase in aggravated gang batteries, compared to a prior eighteen month period in the same area, and in six similar areas of the city. Time I community surveys, police data collection, and lengthy interviews of 100 targeted hardcore gang youths have been carried out. We will shortly commence our Time II community surveys, analysis of police data, and collection and analysis of individual youth data over the program period to determine whether our program has been truly effective.

It is critically important that whatever course the Congress, the President, and federal agencies follow in confronting the gang problem effective program planning, research and evaluation procedures be constructed before actual local program operations begin. We need to know systematically what programs and strategies work in what communities, with which gangs, and with which particular youth. We also need to be wise enough to genuinely seek to reduce the gang problem and not to fall prey to quick fixes and opportunistic claims of particular organizations.

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Senator KOHL. Thank you very much, Dr. Spergel.

I would like to just pursue two lines of questioning with the panel. The first one is, to what extent is the breakdown of our families and the existence of poverty, to what extent are these two conditions central to the problems that we are now facing with juvenile youth gangs and criminals in general? To what extent is the breakdown in families and the conditions of poverty in which so many of these people live central?

Do you wish to respond, Doctor?

Mr. SPERGEL. I think they are both important. Sometimes they are only partially related. Sometimes you have families with two children with parents, but the parents both are working. This occurs in Asian communities where gangs are spawned or in Hispanic communities. You get single-parent families in the black community doing a good job with their kids. They aren't gang members. You get four kids in a family, two are gang members and two are not—two are going to college.

In some communities, you note that the gang problem has spread, or I think developed rather than spread in many, many cities throughout the country, some of these cities are developing communities, are places where there has been industrialization, where the GNP, whatever it is called, the level of income has been

going up, but there is a disruption which occurs. Local services are not appropriately targeted to these kids. They are isolated.

So these are two complex factors that operate rather differently.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Galipeau?

Mr. GALIPEAU. In South Central Los Angeles, we have an interesting phenomenon. This is certainly the case in our projects in Watts, Willowbrook, Compton, they are really impoverished areas, yet the Rollin' Sixties Gang and the A–Train Gangster Crip Gang, those are three-bedroom, two-bath homes largely, who come from good families in a lot of cases, schoolteacher mothers and hard-working fathers, this type of thing.

You can't just generalize and say it is total poverty. Once the gang thing took hold in South Central Los Angeles, it took hold of the good part, the nicer neighborhoods as well as the projects.

Senator KOHL. Is there any other comment on that? The family breakdown and the situation of poverty, to what extent does it contribute to our problem today?

Mr. Graika?

Mr. GRAIKA. As far as the family breakdown, one of the reasons why I think we have such seriousness of a gang problem at this point and why we will see probably even a worse problem is because of the situation of babies having babies, teen parents who don't know how to raise a child who maybe were not raised right themselves, who maybe have become abusive and neglect the kids, are involved in drugs and alcohol.

We always talk about these mentoring programs and role models. Ultimately, your number one role model is your parents, and if they are screwed up and you are raised that way, there is a good chance you are going to follow in their footsteps.

Senator KOHL. Do you find a lot of that when you look at some of these gang members and you look behind them and take a look at what their parenting situation is? Do you find a lot of that?

Mr. GRAIKA. A lot of that, definitely.

Senator KOHL. Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. It is a very complicated situation, as Mr. Galipeau said. Rollin' Sixties is from very affluent families. But yet, poverty plays a great role in what goes on out there.

I think that the general decline within our civilization has overall contributed to a new culture, a culture that has a different kind of pride, a different kind of machismo, a different family structure, gangster rap music, the style, this whole new thing of, I am a drug king, I am a shot caller.

I would say that it just doesn't come down to one or two situations like family or poverty. It is the overall hypocrisy that I think that has been developed within our society. As you know, our educational system has declined. There has been political corruption. Across the board, things have not been what they should be.

I think the role model syndrome is very, very negative, because I don't think that we ca.. talk about role models anymore. The role models might be Snoop Doggy Dogg, who is up for murder but yet has a number one record on the pop chart and who is admired by these individuals.

So they have a new culture, and the only way that we can change that is through education, through a certain kind of inter-

vention, but also enforcement is very important, because there are hard-core gangsters that need law enforcement.

That is why I said in my opening that I talk about partnerships and coalition, because no one element is going to bring a change. It is only through our collective efforts that I feel we can make a change.

Senator KOHL. Finally, there are people who say that many, if not most of these young people, look at their world and see hopelessness and that that has a lot to do with the direction in which their lives go. One of the things we need to do is show them that there is another way, something that they can say "yes" to, which will lead to a better life, so that when they make their choice as to how they are going to proceed in their life, they see something out there that is more attractive than hopelessness and that that can help turn this thing in the right direction.

I am interested in your comment on that.

Mr. Graika?

Mr. GRAIKA. Yes. I think definitely the sense of hopelessness exists with the teenagers out there today. A lot of them don't see any light at the end of the tunnel. They don't equate a high school education or education in any form as leading to success.

A lot of these kids get into the gangs for the very reason of this sense of hopelessness. They just feel that there is nothing out there for them, and that is why they live for the moment. They don't envision what consequences what they do today will have, how it is going to affect them tomorrow, let alone a couple of years down the road. So they live for the moment, and I think they are very spontaneous in their actions. That is why you see the little remorse that they have, because they just act on the moment.

Senator KOHL. Thank you.

Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. This is a very important phase. The Amer-I-Can Program is in eight States. Ninety-five percent of our staff are ex-convicts and ex-gang members. As Mr. Galipeau will tell you, they are some of the most important or strongest gang members in the country.

The reason that we are able to attract them is because we deal with education, we deal with bonding, and we deal with economics. All of our contracts mainly employ these gang members and ex-convicts. They are working in conjunction with the lieutenant colonel. They are working in conjunction with schools. We are in schools, juvenile camps, communities. We train policemen with ex-gang members and ex-convicts.

Our people are now a part of the system. I do not oversee them. In the eight States that they are in, you don't have to measure the success because they have become an integral part of those cities, working with agencies. So there is a lot of hope.

With the Government now talking about the resources for a program, if this comes about, I will guarantee you that you will see a tremendous change in gang activity in this country.

Senator KOHL. Yes sir? Mr. Galipeau?

Mr. GALIPEAU. Whether you know it or not, this ties in with your last question, too, because even in the middle-class gang areas like the Rollin' Sixties, this hopelessness is endemic. They can be in the

Watts Projects and the Rollin' Sixties. They don't see any type of way out. To them, it is live for today, the hell with tomorrow, because what do we have for tomorrow?

The first thing I really saw when I wrote the program that is attachment B to my testimony was this, that the only way they are going to see this is to have these original gangsters, the older gang members who screwed up, who have gone to the penitentiary, who have come out to tell them, don't do what I did. Don't have to go through this. They look up to these guys.

Jim Brown came along and started doing it on a large scale, and I didn't miss a Wednesday night. I was there until midnight every Wednesday night when he had these meetings, where I could bring to his own personal home—which is beautiful, up in the Hollywood Hills—I would bring gang members from the ghetto, as many as I could fit in my car, up there. They saw that there is a way, there is a method of hope, and the life management skills that come through that program and the things my OG's try to point out to them show these guys you don't have to go to the pen to learn your lesson.

Senator KOHL. Dr. Spergel?

Mr. SPERGEL. I am not sure I could add much to what has been said. The hopelessness is more the way we see it. The kids on the street on a day-to-day basis are shooting, they are driving around. They can't make it, and so they make the best of what they have got.

Jobs and school, the attitudes of the larger community are not sufficient. They have to be helped to get the jobs and to keep them. They have to be trained. These guys have failed at school very often. They don't have the skills, the attitude skills or the reading and writing skills, to do the job. One has to be patient with them and to train them on an effective basis.

You need police involvement, you need a controlled involvement as well as opportunities with these guys. It has to work together.

Senator KOHL. I thank you very much.

Senator Cohen?

Senator COHEN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Brown said something that I think is important in terms of the complexity of the issue and also focusing upon the economy. Last year, I toured South Central Los Angeles with Senator Bill Bradley, and what struck me was the vast wasteland out there of factories being closed and barbed wire being wrapped around old dilapidated buildings. Equally impressive was the number of liquor stores per block.

Mr. GALIPEAU. They tried to take care of that 2 years ago, sir. They burned most of those liquor stores down.

Senator COHEN. It was, I think, symptomatic of the hopelessness that is in a community. I was struck by the difference. You don't see too many liquor stores in Beverly Hills and in other parts of the more affluent areas.

This notion of living for the moment, it is not only gang members who are living for the moment, it really reflects much of our society, doesn't it? That is part of the problem we have today. It is down to the gang level, but we are living for the moment. We have

a credit card mentality. We are living in the age of what has been called "future shock."

It used to be that we used to borrow money in order to provide for our children. Now we borrow money from them for ourselves, and that is what this whole budget debate is about. We are spending billions and billions and borrowing it and saying, you pay the tab somewhere down the line. It is a total reversal.

We have MTV, in which we have split-second images coming on, and that is where they establish some of their values, be it in the rappers or other types of music.

I was particularly interested in what Dr. Spergel said about the reduction of gang violence has to be our objective. It is not the reduction of gangs but the reduction of gang violence.

There was something that you said, Mr. Galipeau, that we are not going to get rid of the gangs. They are going to be there. What we have to do is reduce the level of violent activity.

I must say, as I was listening to Jim Brown talk about the new culture in our society, there is a level of violence throughout our society that is being reflected by the gangs themselves now. You, Mr. Brown, came from a violent sport, a real violent sport, and today it may be even more violent than when you played. All the hits that you took and the many that I used to watch, and you would get up in a very slow, seemingly painful way to go back to that huddle, but I look at the level of violence today in football and I see these kamikaze squads coming down, hurling their bodies, using their helmets as spears, trying to take out a punt returner or take out the quarterback. What is rewarded is how violent they can make that hit.

We are looking at Shaquille O'Neal, a terrific young basketball player, rip down the backboard, and that is celebrated today, too, not the soaring grace of some of the other ball players but how violent we can play that sport.

So it is in every aspect that we look around today. We have been holding hearings in several committees about violence in video games or violence in the movies. We have become a violent society.

When you see how it filters down through, when some of the older criminals now are being interviewed on various programs, they are shocked at the absolute amorality of the young criminals coming into prison today. They are shocked about how they have killed, without cause and without remorse.

Some of the older criminals say, look, when we were part of a gang or I was a robber, if I held somebody up, I would say give me your money or your life, they usually gave me the money and I spared their life. Today, you give the money and you are still murdered. So it is an absence of even any kind of morality. It is almost a "Lord of the Flies" type of situation that we have.

We have one or two, maybe more, generations that are growing up who will present a problem to our society. We may have lost certainly one, maybe two, generations right now of young people coming up.

It is a savagery on the streets that I think is unprecedented, and it is—yes sir?

Mr. SPERGEL. I wanted to interrupt you, Senator. I am not sure our young people are any more savage than they used to be, they

just have better instruments. The rise in the last 3 years in gang violence and gang homicides is a function almost completely of semi-automatic weapons.

So if the country is really concerned about violence, the simplest thing to do is to develop effective gun control. That is even more important than controlling gangs.

Senator COHEN. Mr. Brown, you said that there may be no role models. The question that occurred to me is that if you were not a superstar, would it be a fair comment that you wouldn't have commanded the same respect that you do? You have an influence on the people who come up to your home in the Hills. They come up to your home to meet with you because they have respect for what you accomplished during your professional life, either in sports or in the movies.

So role models do have an impact, do they not?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I would like to say this to you. They are no different than you. You acknowledged the fact that I played and that I got up slow. But from the standpoint of the quality of this hearing, if I came here and talked about football, I don't think I would be here.

So of course, they are affected by any notoriety. They are just like anyone else. Maybe not as much the fact that I played football but the fact that they could come to my home and be welcome, like anyone else.

Mr. GALIPEAU. That, I think, is more important.

Mr. BROWN. Also, there have been many, many years in research that went into my program, because in the 1960's I had an organization called the Black Economic Union that dealt with economic development of black people within the system, and I engaged many young MBA's and many athletes around this country and affected over 400 black businesses. My development, the relations I have with Oregon, although the colonel liked the fact when he heard I was a football player, when we sat down to design the program, a three-pronged program there, it really had nothing to do with football.

So I do use that to a degree.

Senator COHEN. I am not being critical, I am commending you.

Mr. BROWN. I understand.

Senator COHEN. What I want to know is, how do we structure this? For example, in my home state, there is a program in which we have a uniformed police officer come into the classroom. Is that working? Is that someone that they can relate to, or does it take a different type of individual?

You is you have a great deal of stature within the community. Therefore, they are more likely to listen to you than the average person. Do we have to develop more role models?

Mr. BROWN. I would like to make that clear. Mr. Galipeau is not a role model, he is an interested person. Because of the way he conducts himself, he gets respect out there. It takes day-to-day application.

But I would like to make something very clear. The curriculum that we have is invaluable because it changes the thinking and it gives those individuals the ability to live their lives in a productive manner. Most of them do not have the life management skills. Jim

Brown's personality in initially meeting these individuals is very important, but once they have gotten the life management skills, I can disappear, because in eight States, I cannot be there on any kind of continual level.

So it is the scientifically-developed curriculum and the partnerships that we have been wise enough to develop with law enforcement and all of the other agencies and community organizations and the realization that these young men, gang-affected young men, need all of these services to get back into the system and that we must make economics available on this level rather than on the level of your Ph.D.'s and your counselors who are going to come out there and give words.

Also, employment becomes highly important, even in new industries like the movie industry, because we have a sister organization that employs ex-gang members and ex-convicts in that industry. We have 50 new jobs in Los Angeles. We have ten in New York because of this kind of thing. We have two sporting goods stores and we have a security company which creates employment and economics.

Our organization, the way it is structured, most of the economics and salaries go to the ex-convicts and the ex-gang members who are certified to teach this program. My men and ex-convicts and ex-gang bangers teach his men life management skills in Oregon and across the country.

So it is a base, but I do think goal model would be appropriate, because actually a goal model would not make any of us God. But thank you very much.

Mr. GALIPEAU. I can relate to that a little bit, Senator. You and I remember, Jim, playing football. I was a little kid at the time.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, you did. [Laughter.]

Mr. GALIPEAU. At any rate, these guys don't. These are 17-year-old guys who grew up on the streets. When they meet him, it is where he is coming from, his sincerity, and his interest in making them help themselves that brings this man, not his old days as an actor.

Senator COHEN. I was going to go on to the point that the role models may change. You mentioned one of the top-selling stars today who is being charged with murder and has the number one record.

Mr. BROWN. Snoop Doggy Dogg.

Senator COHEN. Right. Should an effort be made to use role models to change their behavior? Influencing them to realize the kind of impact that they can have upon shaping lives for a better end? How can we do that?

Mr. GALIPEAU. I think they have the role models. If you sit there and take the guys that Jim and I are trying to motivate, once we get an OG gang member, maybe that is 28 years old, has been in the joint for 5 years, has probably done his drive-bys, killed people, has a reputation down on the streets, this guy, they will listen to, more than they will Jim, more than they will me. Once we get him thinking right through his life management skills program or through him coming to us, that is the guy who can influence the younger, more dangerous, what they call the locals.

Mr. BROWN. The culture created a new role model, and those role models or those individuals who have put their work in.

To answer another question from an earlier statement, your prisons give a young man more status. Most of your power is in your prisons. A lot of your orders come from your prisons. If you do not concentrate on what you might call education in your prisons, you almost have no chance. Also, they supply two out of the three basic skills—food, shelter, and clothing, and also social interaction. When a young man comes out, if there is nothing to meet him outside, he will gladly go back to prison.

Senator COHEN. I will try to end this, because it could go on for a long time.

Mr. SPERGEL. To elaborate and change the perspective a little bit, I think we exaggerate the influence of prison on gangs, leadership on fellows on the streets. The guys on the street, the guys in prison say they have a lot of power. What they have is a lot of solidarity. These are the leaders. They look up to them and they respect them. They don't control the day-to-day violence on the streets. This is much too spontaneous and unpredictable.

What I think is important is the role of the police, Senator Cohen. I think there are a lot of people out on the streets, not just older gang members or ex-cons, but gang members themselves, local citizens—the police are extremely important. They have more contact with these kids than anybody else in the community. Some of them are reaching out to talk to them, to give them some respect. In our project, they are referring them to the youth workers for jobs. They are keeping an eye on them. They are monitoring them. Some of them know the families. The families are important.

The schools need to reach out to these kids that are not coming to school and drag them into school. The agencies, the youth agencies, the boys' clubs need to go out and get these kids, not simply do prevention with kids who are not going to be gang members.

Citizens have a special role. They are very conflicted about these guys. There are a lot of good people out there in the worst communities. They don't know whether to have these kids sent away forever or to be of some assistance to them, because some of the kids are their own kids.

So this requires getting all of these people together in some effective way to deal with these guys, and that is not an easy process. We have to avoid exploitation of the problem. Jobs alone is not going to do it.

Mr. BROWN. Senator Cohen?

Mr. SPERGEL. Just one more thing, and that is our poverty program in the 1960's was highly effective in empowering a lot of people, but not many gang members. The gang problems shot up. Delinquency rates went up. You have to target these guys, get the guys that are the most vulnerable. There are a lot of good people out there in the worst communities.

Mr. BROWN. One statement of fact. The Mexican Mafia in Los Angeles put out a directive for Mexican Americans to attack black Americans. If you check with the system, they are having riots at this time because the prison organization put that order out there. We are directly involved with that. There have been more riots in

the jails in Los Angeles in the last few weeks than anytime in its history because of that one order.

Mr. SPERGEL. I understand, too, that based on Los Angeles sheriff statistics that, in fact, the gang violence rate among the African American community has gone up, but the gang violence rate among Hispanics has gone down because of the Mexican Mafia——

Mr. BROWN. It is just the opposite.

Mr. SPERGEL. But it varies. It varies.

Mr. BROWN. The homicide, in truth, went down 75 percent in Watts, and the Hispanic statistics were brought in. So the statistic of 17 percent that you heard was basically overloaded with Hispanics.

Also, if you are from Chicago, sir, and you want to know about the prisons, if you do not know who Hoover is, Hoover is the most powerful gang leader in this country and has been incarcerated for many years. He can basically give an order and have almost anything happen.

Mr. SPERGEL. With due respect, the gang violence rate among Hispanic young people in Chicago has been higher than that among blacks for the last 20 years, with one or 2-year exceptions. That rate is also higher among Hispanic gang members in Los Angeles than for blacks. Blacks happen to be more involved, relatively more, in some of the drug trade. There are more issues of survival.

Mr. BROWN. And there is a peace in Watts now.

Mr. SPERGEL. Right. The peaces don't always work. Summitry doesn't always work. Summitry has not worked in Los Angeles. It is not working in Chicago. It works for a short time. So it is a very complicated problem. There are no easy solutions.

Senator COHEN. On that, we all agree.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for calling the hearing, and I want to thank both panels. All of you have demonstrated how complex an issue it is. We are sitting up here asking the questions, but you are the folks down there on the front lines who know, from your own experience, some of the answers.

This is just the beginning of a set of hearings that we need to have to learn what we should do. The pressure is on for the Federal Government to do something. The "something" is "get tougher." Getting tougher means putting the hard core criminals away, taking them off the street.

We have to go back to what Senator Kohl was saying. We must deal with those youths who are on the fringe and with those who are on the inside. That is going to take decisions that cannot be made at the Federal level. We may have to provide the money, but the decisions will be made down at the local level. We need your wisdom and expertise.

Mr. GALIPEAU. We have programs. One of the problems after the riots in 1965, the Federal money just got sent out in bushels and everybody wasn't ready for it. The right programs didn't get the money. Out of this came some good programs. Out of it came a whole bunch of bad programs. When the Federal Government figured out they were getting ripped off, a meat axe approach took the good one out with the bad.

We have programs, tried and true, Senators, that have worked in our South Central Los Angeles ghetto. I have attached a small

list of them to my testimony. I would love to talk to individual Senators. I would love to hear from you guys when I get back on the coast if you want to come out and see things that work. Please don't make the mistake of funding unknown, untried things when there are so many tried and true things this time that could be replicated in communities all over the United States. Thank you.

Senator KOHL. Senator Kerrey could not be with us today because he had an amendment on the Senate floor, but his statement will be made a part of the record. Lieutenant Dion of the Portland Police Department was unable to make it today to testify in person, his written statement will be made a part of the record.

I would also like to make a part of the record a statement from the Children's Rights Council.

Finally, we will have a few written follow-up questions for the record.

[The prepared statement of Senator Kerrey was not available at press time.]

[The written questions were not available at press time.]

Senator KOHL. We thank you all. You have provided a lot of enlightenment and many good ideas. We appreciate your coming.

This hearing is closed.

[Whereupon, at 12:52 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARK N. DION ON BEHALF OF THE TACTICAL ENFORCEMENT UNIT, PORTLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT

Good morning Senator Kohl, Senator Cohen, distinguished members of the committee, my name is Mark Dion and I am a Lt with the Portland Maine Police Department. I am pleased to have been invited to provide a snapshot of the emerging gang problem in our State.

Far too often, the gang dilemma is framed in the context of urban America. The media impression is that gangs are contained by the boundaries of inner city neighborhoods. This assumption allows many in suburban and rural communities to be lulled into the complacency of denial.

Portland is a coastal city of seventy thousand residents whose playgrounds are punctuated with the laughter of Farsi, Kmher, Vietnamese and Swahili; a city where families find their moral code in the Torah, the Bible and the Koran.

Portland police officers confront the challenge of servicing households which are culturally and linguistically isolated. These families compete for increasingly scarce entry level positions in manufacturing and service industries.

The promise of such diversity is dimmed by the emergence of skinhead gangs. These delinquent youths are loosely organized under banners such as pash, no mercy crew, smash, and time posse. These young men react to the changing demography with hate, intimidation and violence. Their voices decry we are losing our jobs to *others*. Their taunts of white pride foster disdain among decent Americans everywhere.

Irving Spergel of the university of Chicago assert that rapid ethnic and racial changes in an area are often precursors to an increase in gang activity. This diversity has also provided a platform for intraethnic gang behavior. Cambodian and Vietnamesefamilies are vulnerable to the predatory forays of Asian gangmembers in a style reminiscentof wild west outlaws. They exploit those of similar origin, fleeing back across state lines with impunity.

We have engaged the thunder gang and Asian streetwalker boys of northeastern Massachusetts We have also documented the presence of the New York City BTK. Burglaries in the small bedroom community of cumberland are traced to Viet gang members of Springfield Mass. A gang involved armed robbery in Westbrook leads local detectives to Boston and San Francisco.

Six weeks ago the home of a Vietnamese family was invaded by armed men. These five predators bound the teenage children with duct tape and proceeded to threaten the mother at gun and knifepoint, escapingwiththefamily'sentiresavings.

Investigators traced these offenders to a Viet street gang based in Worcester, Mass. These outlaws are members of the CAI bang. Detectives from that city hold this gang responsible for numerous home invasions throughout Western Massachusetts.

A frightening reality is present in Portland today. A gang whose reason for existence is repugnantly simple has banded together for the sheer exhilaration that violence begets. They call themselves FSU with a uniform, tag names and turf. Their addiction is not to crack cocaine but to the perverse adrenalin rush violence brings.

mace. In one instance they beat someone with a human thigh bone. Those attempting to intercede were maced by other gang members. FSU Portland understands the axiom: the greater the fear * * * the greater the status * * * this spiral is destined to end in tragedy.

Investigators are currently tracking nine groups in our city which exist at various stages in gang evolution; seven other groups have announced their presence with graffiti. Today graffiti vandalism is a contagion of disorder reaching epidemic proportions, the cost of which climbs ever skyward.

We estimate approximately one hundred of our youth in the great portland area have begun to explore this troubling dynamic. We must guard however against overlabeling those who may have but an intermittent contact with gang activity.

Intensive enforcement tactics have succeeded in preventing "gangs" from becoming a permanent blight upon Portland. Rather gangs are a shifting condition of association, trying on a set of values and behaviors to meet a hidden need of belonging and acknowledgement. The red flag are all in place.

A report released in December of last year by the Maine Dept of Human Services in collaboration with the Edmund Muskie Institute of Public Affairs catalogued the impressionsof 542 Maine professionals from the fields of education, public health, police services, religious organizations and a variety of social welfare disciplines. The study quantified the experiences and observations of these individuals regarding intrapersonal violence among youths in the state of Maine.

One fifth of the respondents interpreted the incidence of violence as acts perpetrated by gangs or groups. Sixty five percent of the events appeared to have involved intolerance of differences as a cause factor.

A survey commissioned in the Spring of 1993 by the center for disease control examined risk behaviors of youth in Maine. Twenty four hundred students were sampled. Twenty-one percent admitted to carrying a gun, knife or club; seven and a half percent affirmed their weapon of choice was a gun.

Today two of our city's five high schools are patrolled by private security guards. A recent staff development session, involving teachers and police officers, attempted to define elements which a coming together to create what school officials characterize as an environment of intimidation.

Two hundred non attending school age youth were also interviewed by the Muskie Institute—forty percent admitted to having a weapon in their possession in the prior calendar month. One fifth of that sample stated the weapon of choice was a gun.

According to the Portland YWCA street program, an average of three hundred homeless youth survive on our city streets. These youngsters are as young as eleven years old. These youths often escape from unhealthy, disorganized, violent and sexually abusive families. To preserve their own sense of safety they may elect to become predators themselves. Adrift from their family of origin, these youth may seek out gangs as an alternative family structure.

Crime is and will remain in large part a local problem. Tactics that shift responsibility are tempting but, in reality, ineffective. The Federal Government should resist the emotional demands to "manage" this crime problem but rather provide leadership in shaping public opinion to the hard social policy choices that must be made. A vice principal in my city intuitively framed this tension stating: "We are a Polaroid Society." Our collective expectation is that crime can be solved in relatively short order. Our solutions *must* be geared to the long term.

The Bureau of Justice statistics reports that ninety one percent of the police agencies in this country have fewer than fifty officers. The formation of gang units in agencies of this size is an unrealistic deployment of resources. Community policing meanwhile proposes fewer specialties in favor of empowered line officers. The answer for small cities with limited revenues may not lie with hiring more officers but creating conditions that foster more effective policing.

Recently, the Portland Police Department opened an outreachoffice in our most densely populated neighborhood. Fifty percent of the households there are headed by single females. It is a neighborhood plagued by prostitution, domestic violence, burglary and juvenile crime. It is a place where children are at risk * * * neglected children who may seek out gangs as a refuge.

The initial resident reaction to crime was more cops. Instead we chose to develop a partnership with the University of Southern Maine Graduate School of nursing and the city public health department. It is not only reaction that is needed but early intervention. The public health model shifts the paradigm of youth crime away from simply a Law Enforcement response.

We must broaden our vision of community to include a home centered strategy. The seeds of violent behavior are planted in the home. We must target child care, parenting skills, nutrition and the effect of domestic violence upon children in order to short circuit the evolution of potential gang members.

I cannot advocate a response for those cities gripped in the vise of open gang warfare. I pray that I may never achieve such an expertise. The goal of our agency is to strengthen a community ecology which will prevent such behaviors from taking root.

My father operates a greenhouse. He is a respected gardener whom many consult when their plants fail. He will sell them sprays and powders. He will talk of light and watering schedules. The customers will buy his products, leaving happy with the knowledge they will see immediate results.

In those instances, Dad will shake his head and comment that no one really wants to work the soil. No one cares to work on their knees, staining their hands with the dark earth, preparing it for the task ahead. Such labor is not glamorous and yields very little immediate gratification but it holds the key to eventual success.

The gang crimes we have investigated were concluded successfully, through interagency efforts at the local level. Marshalling the efforts of the seven or eight FBI agents in our state would not have changed the equation in any measurable way. Those agents have always been ready to help but they are strapped as it is.

The U.S. Attorneys office in Maine has a positive working relationship with local law enforcement. When and if gangs rise to the level of criminal organizations, I am confident of their support within the framework of existing Federal statutes.

The limited platform from which Federal law enforcement operates will not help prevent the emergence of gangs in our state. They will be in spite of their best intentions, the sprays and powders I spoke of earlier.

Direct your energies and limited resources to strengthening families, schools and civic advocacy groups which can cancel the allure that gangs present to our children.

Work the soil. Thank you for your attention.

STATEMENT OF THE CHILDREN'S RIGHTS COUNCIL

There is a definite link between family structure and violence. The movie "Boyz 'N The Hood," brought this out very clearly, in showing that gangs were replacing family.

Researchers and commentators have documented that children of single parent families do less well than children with two parents on all indicators. This is true whether involvement in drugs and crime, school performance, or other problems are measured (CRC Report R123).

Single parents do all they can for their children, and many children of single parents turn out fine. But statistically, such children do less well than children with two parents.

Most children of single parent families are being raised without their fathers. Father absence, according to David Blankenhorn, Institute for American Families, and syndicated columnist William Raspberry, is the greatest social problem we face today. See research by John Guidubaldi Ph.D. Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

Government laws have had the unintended consequence of breaking up families—through no-fault divorce, welfare laws, housing policies, and a distorted focus solely on economic issues in the event of divorce. Our CRC polling has indicated that parents who know they have to work with the other parent on raising the child after divorce are less likely to divorce.

Government needs to get out of the way of family formation, family preservation, and family restructuring in the event of divorce.

Ways in which the government could do this, and thereby reduce the likelihood of gang violence, are:

1. Pass welfare reform;

2. Promote marriage. Encourage the states to consider braking mechanisms for divorce such as in Virginia, where a couple without children must wait six months, but with children, a year, prior to divorce. This can start the trend back toward responsibility;

3. Open up public housing to two-parent families, as HUD Secretary Cisneros is attempting to do;

4a. Teach parenting before marriage, during marriage, and in the event of divorce. This is more than sex education, and involves baby cuddling, child development, and values;

4b. Remove the marriage tax penalty; Mediation of Greater Washington, D.C.

5a. In the event of divorce, stop treating children as property to be awarded to one parent, and denied to the other parent. Enable parents to have the effective, low-cost ways to enforce access that have proven successful, such mediation, visitation staff, counseling, and expedited handling access complaints;

5b. Fund research into the relationship between family structure and gang violence. There is a paucity of such research at present.

The new director of the federal child support office, David Gray Ross, issued a statement on his first day in office in January that talked of the need of children for "two parents and four grandparents." More public officials need to make similar statements.